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SPECIAL ISSUE

The Agenda After Reagan

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

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CORRESPONDENCE

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

To the editors:

The article on William Rehnquist ("The Rehnquist Court," by Charles Krauthammer and Owen Fiss, TNR, March 10) is an excellent thematic follow-up to David Bruck's "Strom Thurmond's Roots" (TNR, March 3). Rehnquist is the beast unearthed, so to speak, who lurks in the most aristocratic branch of the U.S. government. The system of checks and balances seems undermined by a "revisionist constitutional doctrine" advocated by Justice Rehnquist. We can see Justice Rehnquist on the inside, and Senator Thurmond on the outside, eroding the cornerstone the Founding Fathers set when they wrote the one Constitution. It was clearly not the intention of Jefferson, for instance, with his notion of an agrarian democracy, to allow the separate states to rule without the preeminence of a federal administration which protects the rights of citizens.

William Rehnquist can be read as a constitutional purist with eyes only for the original Revolutionary printed word. Strom Thurmond, on the other hand, comes out of a tradition that is wholly colonial. Both Rehnquist and Thurmond endorse an antebellum philosophy that seems to be at the core of American conservatism today. When this is all brought home to President Reagan's new federalism, the consequences are frightening indeed.

Eric L. Miller
New York, New York

GO GREYHOUND

To the editors:

Some months ago, we were contacted by Steven Emerson regarding a story for THE NEW REPUBLIC on U.S. corporations and their stand on the Awacs sale to Saudi Arabia ("The Petrodollar Connection," February 17).

No more than five minutes into that first phone interview, it became distressingly apparent that Emerson was not about to let the facts stand in the way of a good story. As a result, every time he subsequently called, we had two other people monitor the interview. I have no hesitation, then, in advising you that in his piece, Emerson patently and deliberately lied in statements pertaining to the Greyhound Corporation.

Emerson stated that eight days after the Awacs sale was approved by Congress, our GFM subsidiary was awarded a $90-million contract extension by Saudi Arabia. That is absolutely false. Emerson was fully informed that the contract extension was granted in June and formally signed in late September.

As Emerson well knew, it was the *press release* on the extension that went out in November, because our policy states that all releases involving a client must be submitted to the client for approval on the text, and mail does not move quickly between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia.

Emerson asked me if at any time anyone in the corporation was approached by the Saudis or their emissaries prior to the Senate vote, and pressured, or even asked, to support the Awacs sale. My answer to Emerson was a categorical no. No hedging, no qualifications, no evasion, no equivocation—just a plain, no-nonsense "no." Yet Emerson falsely says that Greyhound "had to be reminded of its pending contract renewal."

When I talked with Emerson I recall saying to him that I could not answer for any of the other corporations he was contacting—only for this one. But for Greyhound I can speak without hesitation. THE NEW REPUBLIC should care when a reporter like Emerson distorts the facts to force-fit them.

Dorothy Lorant
Vice President for Public Relations
and Advertising
The Greyhound Corporation
Phoenix, Arizona

Steven Emerson replies:

Dorothy Lorant charges that I was "not about to let the facts stand in the way of a good story." In fact, it was Greyhound that attempted to manipulate the facts. And a recounting of my contacts with the Greyhound Corporation proves that I gave its representatives every opportunity to tell their story.

From my own sources, I had been told that Greyhound had lobbied for the sale of Awacs to Saudi Arabia, and that Greyhound Food Management's contract extension with Saudi Arabia had in fact been used as leverage. What I did not know was the date of the final approval of the contract. I called the director of public relations for Greyhound Food Management, Beth Meyer, on December 2, 1981, and asked her for the date of the final approval of the Greyhound contract with Saudi Arabia. I was told that the contract was "awarded on November 6, 1981." I then asked if Greyhound had lobbied for the Awacs sale, and she said she would get back to me. Over the next two days, I had several conversations with her in which she adamantly denied that Greyhound had taken any position on the Awacs. However, on December 8, 1981, I spoke with Dorothy Lorant, who finally conceded that Greyhound had lobbied for the Awacs. In that conversation, and in subsequent discussions, she denied that Greyhound had succumbed to any pressure. I quoted her in the article as saying, "It is not our style to buckle under to any type of pressure." At no time did she ever mention the date of the formal signature, nor did she ever mention Greyhound's policy of submitting press releases for approval to its clients. In her letter, she attributes the five-week delay in releasing the press release to the slowness in mail delivery between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. I find this excuse unconvincing in an age of instant communications. The fact is that Saudi Arabia held up all contracts during the time in which the sale of Awacs was before the Congress—a time that coincides with that five-week period.

Lorant also claims that, after she denied that the Saudis had asked Greyhound to support the Awacs, I falsely wrote that Greyhound "had to be reminded of its pending contract renewal." My assertion was based not on the information provided to me by Greyhound, but by sources close to the Saudis.

REGULAR GUY

To the editors:

That was a cheap shot you took at the late John Jay Whitney in your editorial Notebook (TNR, February 24). You quoted from Whitney's obituary in the *New York Times* which listed his many spacious residences and valuable art directly before this sentence: "Mr. Whitney was regarded by his associates as a thoughtful person not given to vulgar display or to flaunting his position."

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Your clear message was that his associates were wrong.

Why didn't you quote from the same obituary to point out that Jock Whitney devoted the considerable resources of his private foundation to enlarging opportunities for those underprivileged through race or environment; that he declined to be listed in the Social Register because he detested snobbery; that he was equally at home with jockeys and wealthy clubmen?

There was no pretense or sham about Jock Whitney. He was a considerate friend and a steadfast ally. He was a very rich man and he lived like one. Most of his riches, however, were acquired through shrewd, imaginative, and often socially useful investments rather than by inheritance. He was a hero in war (which the *Times* obituary carefully pointed out) and a gallant soul in peace. You went out of your way to besmirch his memory.

Charles Tyroler II
Washington, D.C.

Philistines Unite

To the editors:

Like J.K.G. in the Washington Diarist ("Busting Out," TNR, March 3), I too walked out in the intermission of *Napoleon*. One doesn't have to drive from Chicago to New York in a Model T *today* to know what a great car it *once* was.

Joe Arbell
Miami, Florida

Thwarting Soviet Expansion

To the editors:

Max Lerner's reproach of left intellectuals for their wistful image and double standard toward the Soviet Union ("Two Paradigms for Russia," TNR, March 10) is well taken. Marx must be spinning in his grave to have his name used as a cover for Soviet imperialism.

While Mr. Lerner is clear-sighted enough to recognize the aggression and repression that underlie the fig leaf of Soviet socialism, as other liberals often are not, he nonetheless courts the danger of bedding down with right-wing anti-Soviets in his opposition to Soviet expansionism.

This danger is clearest in his references to the third world. His description of American allies "menaced by guerrilla revolts" sounds too much like the Administration's policy of rewarding our friends (Chile, Guatemala,

continued on page 47

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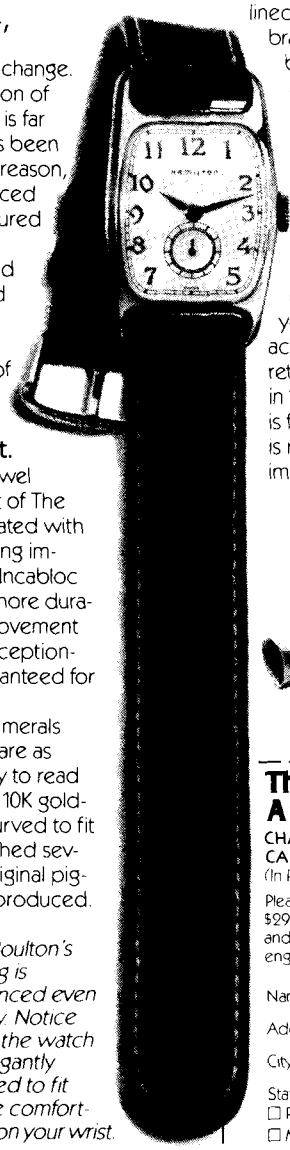

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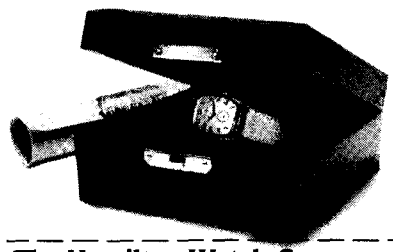

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TRB

FROM WASHINGTON

Let's Negotiate

The traits that make a man a good Presidential candidate don't necessarily make him a good President. Now we have the first professional communicator as President, and we are finding out if he can manage things. He is caught in one of the most dangerous torrents in history, and is faced with two crises simultaneously: the economy at home and the nuclear threat abroad. The tension builds, and the events still have the capacity to startle.

On the economic front, inflation is abating. Fine! But high interest rates, growing unemployment, and staggering deficits remain. The Administration has accepted unemployment as the price of wringing out inflation. It goes back to frail, wispy Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon: "Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers, liquidate real estate," he said in the 1929 crash. That solution is not acceptable today. It is disastrous, for example, for Republicans facing midterm elections this fall.

But here another problem intervenes, and it is not one made by Reagan. Under our system of government, the President shares power in this emergency with the Democratic majority in the House, with the Republican majority in the Senate, and with the seven-member Federal Reserve Board, which has its finger on the oxygen valve and decides how much credit the gasping patient gets. The great danger in the system is deadlock. The President is already boasting to audiences that he has the "veto power." Of course he does. In Washington nearly everybody has veto power, or at least a piece of it. The challenge is not to halt things, but to get them done. It remains to be seen whether President Reagan can achieve a compromise on the budget with Congress in this critical moment, and whether he can work with the Fed afterward.

The other big Reagan problem, of course, is foreign affairs. The immediate question here again is whether he is in control of things, but this time it's within his own family. Curious things keep happening. Take the recent incident of the "informed source." Way back in Franklin D. Roosevelt's time, reporters chatted with the President at press conferences twice a week, but couldn't quote him directly without specific permission. Are we going back to that system? On Sunday, March 14, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* led with the same startling information. The *Times*'s headline was: HIGH AIDE SAYS U.S. SEEKS SOVIET TALKS ON SALVADOR ISSUE; the *Post*'s was: U.S. SEES SOVIET AS KEY TO SOLVING SALVADOR CONFLICT. Astonishing news. Who was the authority? The *Times* quoted "a senior Administration official," and the *Post* identified "a senior State Department official." President Reagan was at Camp David, so he couldn't have been the authority. Indeed, when he came back to the White House, he complained, "I always have trouble wondering who these senior officials are. I haven't met any of them yet."

It wasn't much of a secret, of course, in a one-industry town where a few thousand reporters know each other. Besides that, the President himself seemed to be denying the extraordinary "seeks Soviet talks" interpretation. The story had to be corrected, and the *Times* did it tactfully. In a modest box it explained March 16 that on the previous Saturday, Secretary of State Alexander Haig held a meeting "with a group of reporters," and declared the problem in El Salvador couldn't be solved in El Salvador alone. It was a "global" issue, requiring a global exchange, including the Soviet Union. Haig had made a gaffe, and the reporters had accepted his words literally. Now the Administration denied the radical change in policy it seemed.

You can't really tell anymore whether

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DAVID BRODER: "This will be a standard reference."

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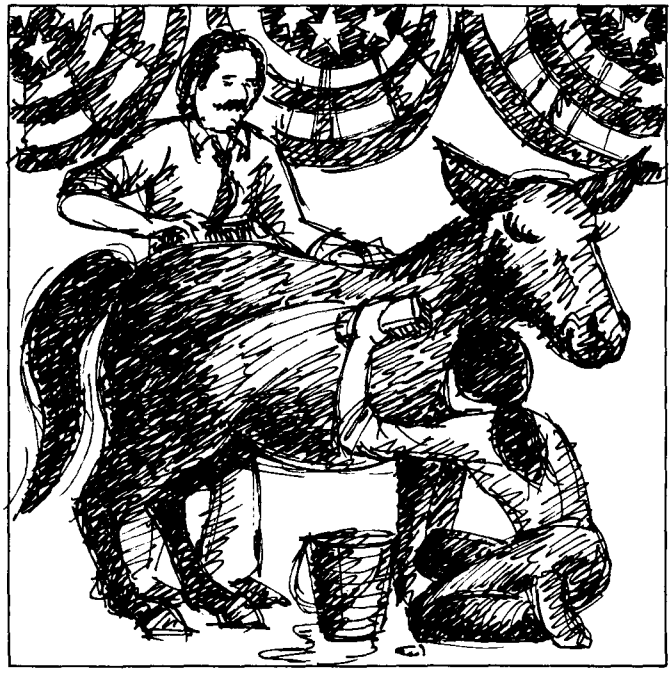
THE NEW REPUBLIC
MARCH 31, 1982

A FIRST DRAFT FOR '84

THE UNITED STATES is a great and good country which has provided its people and the world with an example of liberty, opportunity, and material well-being unprecedented in history. But it is a country in need of economic renewal, rededication to its humane values, and reassertion of its influence in the world. We believe that a wide, accurate, and bipartisan apprehension exists that American society is in decline: industrially, relative to other countries; militarily, relative to the Soviet Union; politically, in terms of the respect in which it is held in the world; economically, in terms of its ability to provide a steadily improving standard of living for its people; even culturally, in terms of social cohesion, respect for authority and the law, and dedication to excellence. The most profound danger of all is that Americans may lose confidence in their ability to reinvigorate American society, and that the world, which depends upon America for the survival of liberty, will lose confidence as well.



We believe that it was a perception of these dangers, a loss of conviction that the Democratic Party could arrest America's decline, and Ronald Reagan's promise of leadership toward renewal that led to the Republican candidate's massive victory in 1980. Mr. Reagan has been in office for just fourteen months. It is not fair or accurate to declare now that his policies have failed, but it would be irresponsible for the opposition party not to point out why they are likely to fail, and not to offer the electorate their own program for rescuing America. Ronald Reagan has nearly three years to demonstrate that his policies can work, and the Democrats have the same period in which to refine their alternatives. In this issue we offer what amounts to a first draft for the 1984 Democratic platform—an interim critique of President Reagan's foreign and domestic policies and a set of proposals by thoughtful liberals and Democrats on what those policies should be.

Politically, Ronald Reagan's great advantage in 1980 was that his messages were simple. America had two great enemies, the federal government and the Soviet Union. Tax cuts and deregulation would make the nation prosperous and healthy again. Assertiveness and a military build-up would make America great again. Now that he has had an opportunity to translate his messages into government action—and he had a freer hand in 1981 than any President in recent history—it is apparent that Mr. Reagan's program for America is contradictory, confused, small, and mean. His prescription calls for weakened government (in the realms of economic intervention and social welfare) at the same time that it calls for strengthened government (in the realms of private morality, internal security, and military preparedness). It seems able to identify only with that fraction of America which is white and prosperous. It conceives the public obligations of

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mutual help and civic solidarity to be merely private virtues, "voluntary" and therefore optional. The truth is that America is one country. We are weak or strong together and we will not be a healthy country if part of us is sick, poor, and ignored. If we are not a healthy country at home, we cannot be strong abroad. And in an interdependent world, if we are weak abroad we cannot be strong at home.

IT SEEMS TO US that what underlies the Republicans' crabbed vision is a philosophy that the private market is the only legitimate arbiter of value in society. Everything else is seen as some kind of parasitic encumbrance: the schools, the arts, social agencies, and above all, "the government." It is true that the market is the principal (though not the only) producer of wealth in this country, and that it does what it knows how to do better and more efficiently than any conceivable alternative mechanism. But there are other goods (like clean air, justice, universal education, and wilderness) which the market is wholly unable to provide, and still others (like medical care, urban transportation, and basic research) which, left to its own devices, it provides too narrowly. The private sector of the American economy does need to be revived. That is, in fact, the primary task for this or any other Administration. Without industrial renewal, we cannot have prosperity, social harmony, or a strong foreign policy. However, the Republicans view the well-being of the private market as an end in itself, not as a means to social enrichment and maintenance of U.S. influence in the world.

To restore the private economy will require investment from savings. To accumulate savings means that some immediate desires—needs, even—cannot be gratified, in the public sector or the private. In 1980 neither Jimmy Carter nor Ronald Reagan found it politically possible to use the world "austerity" to describe the necessity facing the country. Carter did convey a sense of inevitable limits to American growth, but implied that they were permanent—almost a path to virtue—rather than the means to recovery and renewed growth. Ronald Reagan promised cost-free prosperity fueled by tax cuts, but has produced instead the cruelest kinds of austerity—recession, which robs workers of their wages and dignity, and government budget cuts, which deprive society's neediest people of their succor, or even their survival. Reagan's program is based on the faith that squeezing resources from the bottom of society and transferring them to the top somehow will benefit the whole. But the evidence is that it won't, economically or politically.

Economically, there is not a shred of proof that Republican benefits to the rich—in the form of tax cuts—will lead to increased savings, investment, productivity, and prosperity. The wealthy are fully capable of consuming their windfall on luxury items or stashing it in nonproductive shelters. Wealthy corporations have demonstrated that they are fully capable of using their benefits to bid against one another to buy up other corporations. Politically, the perception of economic unfairness is likely to prevent the Reagan Administration from ever putting its program into full effect, whatever benefits it might have. For any austerity and investment program to succeed politically, Americans must be persuaded that the sacrifice is being shared—that rich people are going without their yachts (or at least paying heavily to park them at public facilities) and businessmen are paying for their own luncheon martinis while poor families are doing without food stamps and auto workers are facing wage cuts. It's a measure of the political weakness of Reagan's program that he cannot persuade the middle class to share the sacrifices—in the form of limits on Social Security cost-of-living increases—and so he is inflicting ever deeper damage on the poor.

To succeed economically and politically, the government's economic and industrial policies must direct savings toward productive investment. Showering wealth on the upper classes will not do. What is needed is a program of private investment in new and modernized productive capacity, and public investment in infrastructure and in what is coming to be called human capital. As Robert Reich and Lester Thurow show in their essays in this issue, such a program need not impose a stultifying planning bureaucracy on the U.S. economy. Instead, it can restructure the channels of investment to guide it away from consumption, speculation, and corporate cannibalism and toward new productive muscle.

THE KEY TO AMERICA'S domestic social success—and to its reputation in the world—has been opportunity, the conviction that no person should be deprived by class, race, birthplace, sex, or religion from achieving his or her full potential. To be sure, America has not always lived up to its promise; sometimes it has failed shamefully. Yet this country has always provided more opportunity than other countries (hence our ceaseless stream of immigrants and refugees), and it is the proud tradition of American liberalism that it consistently fought for opportunities to be expanded.

In the late twentieth century, opportunity, industrialization, national power, and social harmony are tied together as never before. A well-educated, highly motivated, self-respecting population is the key to American renewal, but the Reagan Administration, tragically, puts human investment near the bottom of its priorities. A Democratic Administration should put it at the top, doing everything possible to guarantee that a child from whatever background, if motivated, can obtain the skills necessary to succeed in America. Unless this country revives a sense of opportunity, we will be faced with a continually expanding underclass:

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sullen, violent, and increasingly expensive and difficult to control. We do not dispute that crime needs to be controlled with swifter, surer, and stiffer punishment. But disrespect for the law is also caused by declining morale in society, and shrunken social horizons are a major cause of despair. We do not believe that it will encourage respect for the law or for authority in general for conservatives to try as they do—and fail, as they must—to control private morality by national law. A constitutional amendment banning abortions, for example, would not stop abortions from being performed; it would only encourage desperate women to disregard the Constitution.

IT IS NO ACCIDENT that America's domestic hard times coincide with a period of declining influence abroad. Our economic vigor, the level of our national self-confidence, and our ability to assert our values and protect our interests are all interrelated. The Reagan Administration promised to restore strength to American foreign policy after an era of post-Vietnam self-abnegation. As in the domestic sphere, however, the Administration has looked to physical solutions—and rhetoric—to solve the nation's problems, and has ignored human and political measures. "Making America great again" has consisted almost entirely of increasing our own defense budget and attempting to buy favor and influence abroad with weapons sales and aid. Leading officials of the Reagan Administration vie with each other in sounding tough toward one country or another (Cuba, Nicaragua, and Libya, in Secretary of State Alexander Haig's case; and the Soviet Union, Israel, and our European allies in Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's), but our real policy has been rudderless and ineffectual.

The Reagan Administration has no global strategy. Its Middle East policies are based on illusions about Saudi Arabia. Its efforts to bolster Central America against Communist guerrilla assaults are being undermined at home by fears—induced by Administration rhetoric—that a new Vietnam is at hand. The Western Europeans persistently doubt American steadiness and maturity, and they have not been led to change their minds by the Administration's loose talk about limited nuclear war, by the constant Haig-Weinberger squabbling over East-West policy, or by ineffectual pressure to close down Europe's gas pipeline to the Soviet Union. In the major case where true American leadership was required to establish a firm allied posture—in the case of Poland—the United States succumbed instead to the blandishments of its grain companies, banks, and farmers. What must the Soviet leadership think of the resolve of the United States if, after so much swagger, it is possible for Moscow to suppress political pluralism in Poland by proxy at no appreciable cost whatever? Reagan's response to the Polish military takeover actually was weaker than Jimmy Carter's response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. If the Soviets believed next that Iran were vulnerable to a takeover, what would restrain them?

The United States does need a defense build-up, but not the slap-dash, more-of-everything consumption binge being proposed by the Reagan Administration. In this issue James Woolsey describes the kind of calibrated and cost-efficient military system we should pursue. In a Democratic Administration, defense improvements should be instituted for the purposes of deterrence and actual defense. In the Reagan Administration, they are intended as political signals demonstrating a strength that Administration policies lack. Unfortunately, Mr. Reagan's plans lack credibility to friends, adversaries, and to Congress, which has targeted the Pentagon budget for cuts.

The Reagan Administration's domestic and foreign policy is characterized principally by nostalgia—the longing to return to the happy, comfortable days of the 1950s, when America seemed to rule the world and citizens frugally put their savings in the bank until they could make their move to the suburbs. The Reagan vision of the near-perfect America is clouded by time and tricks of memory. The 1950s were not really so idyllic. They were marred by unattended domestic injustices. But in any event, America has to make its way in a future that does not contain the advantages that the 1950s did: U.S. dominance over the world economy, overwhelming U.S. military superiority, cheap energy, and compliant allies. The restoration of American strength will have to be accomplished in a much more complicated context both at home and in the world. We will never again be able to issue orders and have them obeyed. We must compete, persuade, maneuver, and pay attention. We need to have diplomats, soldiers, journalists, businessmen, students, and Presidents who know other cultures and understand that the interplay of international economic and political forces is more than a morality play. We cannot train a talented internationalist population by cutting back on educational funding.

THE SAME APPLIES in domestic affairs. We cannot regain prosperity without investing in our people as well as in our industrial plant. The free market alone cannot reinvigorate America. Although it's forgotten in Reagan ideology, the free market alone did not build the original America. To the leaders of the present Administration, the government is little more than the bureaucrat and the tax collector. But historically, government—that is, democratic self-government—is something nobler and vitalizing. It is the defender of individual liberty and the guarantor of individual opportunity. It is the instrument by which the nation's people can guide their destiny and express their principles. We look forward to the day when the government again will pass into the hands of people who appreciate its possibilities and ours as a people.

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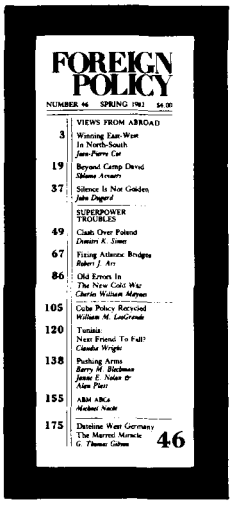

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THE AGENDA AFTER REAGAN

This too shall pass—and once it has, the United States may well be ready for one of its periodic waves of vigorous innovation. For that and other reasons, the opposition's traditional duty in the present interlude of reaction is necessary but not sufficient. The opposition must oppose, yes; but it must also propose. The essays that follow are the beginning of an effort to do that. They are intended as a first draft—not of a definitive platform, but of the kinds of ideas, themes, and proposals that the Democratic Party ought to be debating as it looks toward 1984 and beyond. In some particulars the writers may disagree among themselves or with us; but all are part of a community of liberal and democratic values. The challenge after Reagan remains what it has always been, to make those values the living substance of our common life.

THE EDITORS

Wanted: moral engagement.

THE COMMUNITY

BY MICHAEL WALZER

IT IS TIME to defend the welfare state—taxes, bureaucrats, rules and regulations—the whole thing. Not only because it actually helps people who need help and subsidizes and enables a range of socially valuable activities: it does all that, and all that has to be done. There is another, and ultimately a more important, reason for defending the welfare state. It expresses a certain civil spirit, a sense of mutuality, a commitment to justice. Without that sense, no society can survive for long as a decent place to live—not for the needy, and not for anyone else.

Historians commonly begin their accounts of the welfare state at some point in the nineteenth century. But that is a mistake; it focuses too narrowly on particular kinds of institutions and laws. Communal provision is in fact as old as community itself. When Aristotle tells us, in his *Athenian Constitution,* that Athens provided a small pension to all disabled citizens ("two obols a day subsistence . . ."), he is describing a welfare state. Indeed, communal provision in Athens went considerably beyond pensions for the disabled. The city provided free gymnasia and public baths, free theater too; it hired "public physicians" (not to provide day-to-day health care, apparently, but to be available in time of plague); when food was short, it controlled prices, imposed rationing, looked for additional supplies; it subsidized democratic politics. Every political community tries to provide what its citizens take to be the crucial elements of their well-being. That's what political communities are for; that's why they are organized. If we had no needs that required communal provision, we would all be anarchists; or we would live by ourselves. Even predatory and tyrannical governments that do nothing at all for their citizens must at least pretend to a concern for welfare. It is the necessary tribute of political vice to communal virtue.

The welfare state is very old. But the demand that government "get off our backs"—not this or that tyrannical government, but government itself—has a short history, which begins, so far as I can tell, only in the nineteenth century. Perhaps it is a response to the sheer size and the necessary scope of modern welfare arrangements. But it also expresses a characteristic derangement of modern life. Selfishness is, of course, as old as welfare, tax evasion as old as taxes. The ideology of selfishness—selfishness masked as self-reliance—is relatively new. The prosperity that we enjoy today is the result of the most highly developed interdependency, the most complex forms of cooperation, that the world has ever seen. Though some of us are far more prosperous than others, there is

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an important sense in which we prosper together or not at all. No one "makes it" on his own. People who boast of creating their own wealth are like those kings of old who called every military victory a personal triumph, as if they had no soldiers at their side. Here is the ideology of modern selfishness. When the most comfortable men and women among us demand freedom from taxes and bureaucrats, they are looking to enjoy all the benefits of our common life without paying the costs; they want to possess the things that other people produce without acknowledging the existence of the others. They renounce the spirit of mutuality (but they would be very unhappy if the rest of us renounced it, too).

Ronald Reagan is the chief spokesman for the ideology of selfishness, the American version of predatory politics. He is required, of course, to pay the necessary tributes: to the idea of a "safety net," to Social Security and a concern for the aged, to public and desegregated schools, and so on. But his real devotion is to a politics of moral disengagement: the dismantling of welfare programs and the aggrandizement of the rich. Let me try to say, more concretely, what this means.

(1) Freed from the demands of welfare, we will have, or rather some of us will have, a great deal more money to spend on ourselves. The richest Americans will enjoy the greatest increase, for it is the clear purpose of the Reagan Administration to reverse the (very mild) redistributive effects of welfare legislation. Reagan tells us that these people will then give more money to charity. Leave aside the important differences between private charity and public welfare; it is enough to say that the very rich, who ought to know, don't anticipate this result from Reagan's policies. Nor do the professionals who run our philanthropic organizations anticipate it. Reagan also tells us that more money will be invested in new industries and new technologies. There will be a great burst of entrepreneurial risk-taking. But few of the rich, and fewer professional economists, expect that result either. The money is more likely to be spent on money certificates, luxury goods, vacations abroad—on the old principle of *enrichez-vous* and the newer principle of *amusez-vous.* These two together nicely reflect the ideology of selfishness.

(2) With the government off our backs, American entrepreneurs and corporations will be free to disinvest, relocate, pollute, run unsafe factories, and sell unsafe products. They were never, to be sure, very narrowly constrained in these matters. But the welfare state did bring some public regulation. Indeed, we can think of the welfare state as an effort to establish political control over the risks of unemployment, accident, and ill health that ordinary citizens have to live with. There is no such thing as a risk-free society, but there are choices to be made about kinds and degrees of risk. When these choices are not made politically, they will be made privately—that is, with an eye to corporate profit rather than public safety.

(3) Under the ethic of disengagement, we will all be freed from any sense of responsibility for the poor, the sick, the unemployed. Some minimal provision will presumably be maintained, if only for the sake of social peace. But current Administration proposals seem aimed at degrading the recipients and marking them off from the rest of us. They will be consigned to a kind of economic ghetto and encouraged to make their escape, if they can, on their own, clawing their way up and out. The poor require, according to George Gilder, "the spur of their poverty," and if they are to feel that spur, the full meaning of their poverty must be brought home to them. What do the rest of us require? Perhaps the spur of other people's poverty, the fear of finding ourselves in the economic ghetto, and the joy of being able to say, I'm not there. "I'm all right, screw you, Jack!"

(4) Finally, and most dangerously from both a moral and political point of view, the ideologists of selfishness invite us to make a final peace with the fact that the economic ghetto doubles as a racial ghetto. A discouraging proportion of American blacks will be condemned to live there permanently. It took the solidarity of the early civil rights movement, together with the commitment of the federal government, to begin to challenge the isolation and subordination of the black community. Now the movement is fragmented and demoralized, and the government is indifferent. Reagan and his friends seem to think that that is all right, too.

ALL THIS DOESN'T add up to an attractive society. And there is a further point to be made. The idea of the welfare state isn't exhausted by a modest effort, and it wouldn't be exhausted by a major effort, at income redistribution, risk control, relief for the poor, and health and unemployment insurance. The word "welfare" means "the state or condition of well-being," and well-being is a moral as well as a material condition. Communal provision is required for the whole range of social goods that make up what we think of as our way of life. Not my way of life or yours, but ours, the life we couldn't have if we didn't plan for it and pay for it together. Not subsistence only, but science, culture, schooling, communication, travel, natural beauty: all this is the public business. State officials with state money sponsor scientific research, underwrite the arts, support educational institutions, provide scholarships to talented students, contribute to public television and radio, build highways, run railroads, maintain national parks and wildlife reserves. These activities are vital to the quality of our lives and to the heritage we hope to leave to our children. There is no way that they can be sustained, except intermittently and at the whim of some wealthy man or woman, without large-scale and continuous

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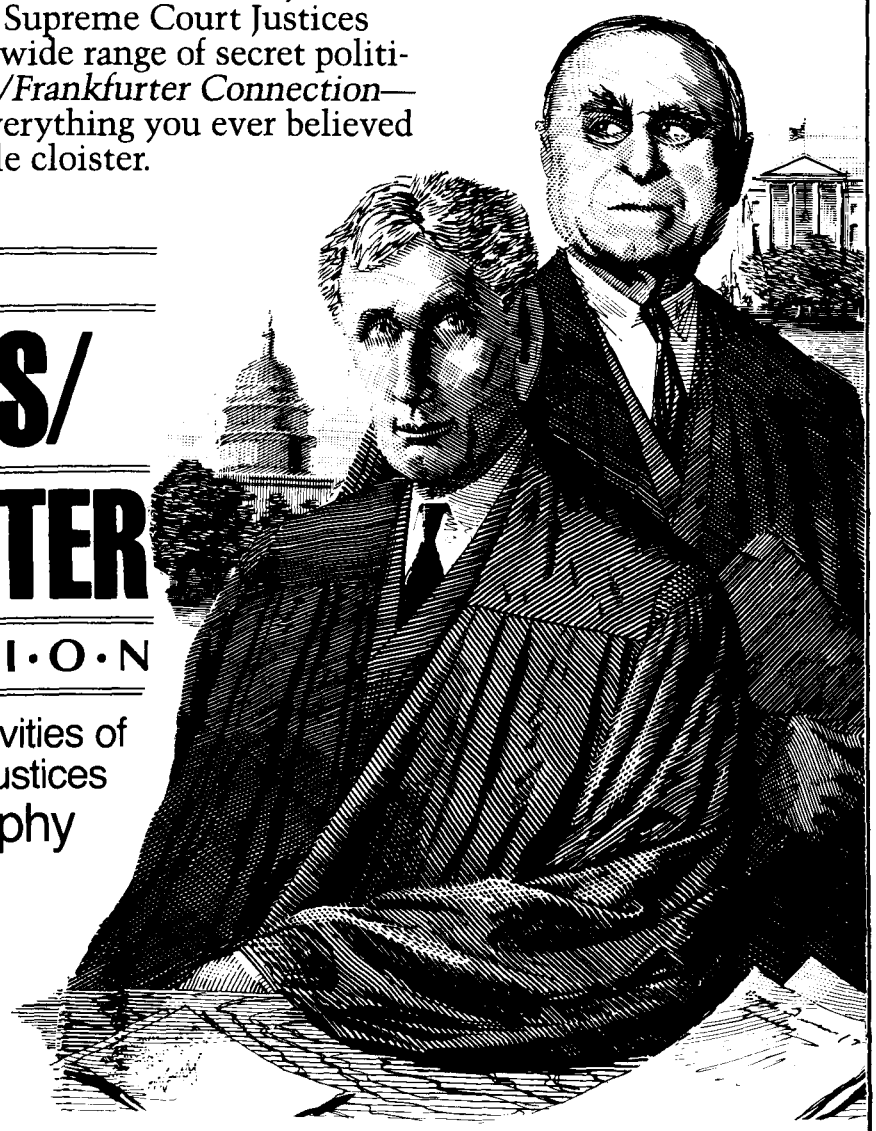

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collective investment. The ideology of selfishness has no answer to the question, how shall *we* live? It is the ideology of a monarchic and peerless individual, a self without comrades, a mythical beast. Try to accommodate the beast and we shall all be poorer.

The welfare state costs money, much as democratic politics costs time. Economists like to equate such costs, and the equation helps us think about these two features of our common life. In neither case have we been ready to pay the required price. We have run a shoddy welfare state (which began to look expensive only when the economy faltered badly), and we have lived with relatively low rates of political participation for much of this century. There was a time in the early and middle 1960s when it looked as if the country might be moving toward new levels of commitment in both these areas. But the containment of the civil rights movement, the defeat of late 1960s radicalism, the economic troubles of the last decade: all these have opened the way to a massive reaction, a kind of counterrevolution.

PUBLIC LIFE is less attractive these days, and selfishness more compelling. As the welfare state contracts, so does the active citizenry. Under contemporary conditions, these two go together; the costs of our common life are connected. Only an upsurge in political participation can revitalize the welfare state. Only a revitalized welfare state can sustain a strong democracy. People willing to spend their time are also willing to spend their money; people willing to spend their money are also willing to spend their time. And the higher the levels of commitment in both these areas, the less the welfare state will look like some distant, impersonal, and intrusive force. It was never that, in fact, except in conservative mythology. But it can be, more than it was, the closely controlled instrument of the citizens themselves, expressing their sense of obligation and community.

The Democratic Party built the American welfare state, and should become the vehicle of its revitalization. Democrats have often been called the spending party. So they are and should be; it is not a dishonorable name. Careful about money and time, cautious in their budgeting, respectful of private and familial resources: yes, of course. That is economically sensible and politically necessary. But it is also sensible and necessary that we pay for our democracy and our collective well-being. This is not a time to join the Reagan reaction or to compromise with it, but to confront it head on. Democrats need to invoke the moral vision of a society whose citizens are commited to one another and willing to share the costs of the commitment. Then we can argue about taxes and programs and administrative methods. Then we can plan, if we have to, for lean years as well as fat ones. If we once surrender the vision, then for many of us, and for the country as a whole, there will only be lean years.

Conservation, decontrol, and foresight can help prevent another crisis.

ENERGY

BY DANIEL YERGIN

THE ENERGY PROBLEM has imposed an enormous cost on the American people—in higher inflation, lost economic growth, and growing unemployment. It has dealt a serious blow to the health and competitiveness of important parts of American industry. And it has created grave new security problems for the United States. There was understandable confusion about how to respond to this problem, which largely grew out of the rapid expansion of oil imports into the United States. But there were other causes as well. A jerry-built regulatory structure emerged in response to the 1973 oil embargo, and the issue of energy pricing became the subject of a long political battle. The years since 1973 have been a powerful and often painful learning experience for the American people.

Major progress has been reported recently in increased domestic energy production, decreased oil imports, and a dramatic move toward greater energy efficiency. Today the U.S. is more than 15 percent more energy efficient than it was in 1973. Yet the adjustment process is far from complete. A substantial part of the slowdown in energy consumption reflects the slump in the American economy rather than real progress in energy conservation. The U.S. remains vulnerable to fluctuations and disruptions in the

Daniel Yergin is coauthor of *Global Insecurity: A World Plan for Energy and Economic Survival*, which will be published in June by Houghton-Mifflin. He is also coauthor of *Energy Future: The Report of the Energy Project at the Harvard Business School* (Random House).

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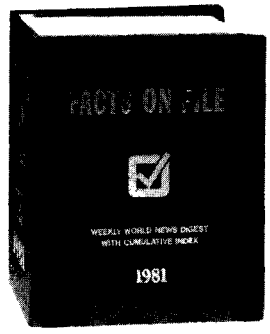

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world market. Disruption can occur quickly. We import more oil than any other industrial nation consumes. World oil prices in 1980 reached levels that, in the first part of 1979, had not been anticipated until the year 2000. Our vulnerability could become even more severe by the end of this decade if a decline in the productive capacity of some OPEC countries leaves future world oil exports even more concentrated in the Persian Gulf.

Further problems could well impose greater economic burdens. Indeed, because energy costs have risen as a share of our gross national product—from 3 percent to almost 10 percent—any significant changes in the price of oil will have an increasingly harmful effect on our economy. Moreover, the question of energy security has become even more serious, pointing to the dangers of international conflict.

The Reagan Administration has tried to deny that there is an energy problem. It has ignored the major role of the oil shocks in the downturn in the economy. It has established extremely unbalanced policies. Despite its rhetoric about the free market, it has played favorites: increasing support for nuclear power, a relatively minor part of our overall energy mix, and reducing support for promising energy developments.

The imbalance is just as clear in the contradiction between the Administration's foreign and security policies and its energy policies. In the international realm, it proclaims that there is a major energy security problem in the Middle East, and hopes that by increasing the defense budget by tens of billions of dollars, it can meet those vulnerabilities. Yet it refuses to spend a tiny fraction of that amount to reduce the essential vulnerability at home. Moreover, it has embarked on a kind of energy isolationism that may estrange us from our most important allies, and put us in dangerous competititon with them.

What is the right way to proceed? We must develop a balanced energy policy that will serve the interests of the American people in the face of the uncertainties in the years ahead. This policy should avoid the regulation and the intervention that proved so troublesome in the 1970s. It can help to correct the substantial market imperfections by creating new incentives and providing better information to the public. The American people are being asked to make a rapid adjustment to altering prices and availability; they will only be able to do that if they have the tools. A balanced energy policy would make those tools available. It would provide a diversified portfolio of approaches with different maturities, aimed at providing the widest flexibility possible. The sensible energy policy is geared toward innovation, it looks to the future, and it provides a stable foundation for a renewal of economic growth. This policy would implement the following measures:

(1) *Conservation.* This has proved to be the cheapest and most effective short-term and medium-term energy source. And we have seen only the earliest results of energy efficiency. Yet the Reagan Administration has expressed hostility to conservation in both word and deed. There is an important role for the government to play in facilitating conservation. Prices may provide a signal, but that signal becomes less meaningful if people do not have information, capital, or know-how. And as we have seen recently, price signals themselves can be confusing. Conservation is competing against other energy sources which have been heavily subsidized, and conservation efforts are hindered by lack of knowledge and experience. Research and information programs should be developed to facilitate these efforts. The difficulties of financing which plague both the homeowner and industry should be eased. Finally, the federal government can provide support for state and local energy programs that encourage conservation and work directly with the users of energy.

(2) *Phased Decontrol of All Natural Gas, with a Windfall Tax on "Old Gas."* The present Natural Gas Policy Act decontrols only part of America's natural gas supply. The act was written in 1978, for a world in which natural gas would compete with oil costing between $13 and $15 a barrel. Within months of its approval, that world ceased to exist. And partial decontrol of natural gas will penalize some consumers and regions, while subsidizing others. A windfall tax on "old gas" should be part of the comprehensive decontrol. It should be used to buffer lower-income people; to make financing available for greater energy efficiency for all residential and industrial consumers; and to reduce other tax burdens.

Meanwhile, the windfall tax on so-called "new oil," which hinders incentive for exploration and development, should be removed.

(3) *The Strategic Petroleum Reserve.* This is a key defense against future oil shocks. A substantial reserve, wisely managed, can prevent the shortages and panic that otherwise can result in further price jolts. The rate at which it is filled should be increased to at least 300,000 barrels a day, until the target of 750 million barrels is reached. This would compensate for a complete loss of all oil imports for half a year. Procedures need to be developed for release of the oil, and a proportion of the reserve should be set aside to help cope with smaller disruptions.

(4) *Emergency Preparedness.* We have learned that panic and ill-considered intervention can help turn a minor oil shortfall into a major price crisis—and leave us with a burden of heavy-handed regulation. There is a strong probability of further oil disruptions, yet the subject of emergency preparedness has been virtually dropped by the Administration. It should be a matter of high priority. These measures should be geared to the market as much as possible, to allow the widest latitude for individual decision. They should be constructed to avoid excessive bureaucratic and regulatory

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intervention. One method would be stand-by authority for a gas tax or a duty on imported oil that could be activated in a crisis. The revenues should be rapidly recycled in the interest of equity and to avoid a shock to the economy.

(5) *International Cooperation.* The United States has overwhelming influence as a consumer on the world oil market. It currently receives about a quarter of OPEC's entire production. The U.S. has very important and close relations with the other industrial oil-importing nations. It must maintain and strengthen the cooperative framework for energy problems among the industrial nations, which involve such instruments as the International Energy Agency and the economic summits. This will help to maintain America's leadership role, to avoid mad scrambles for supplies, and to prevent energy-related disputes from splitting the Western alliance. A policy of energy isolationism will only damage the long-term interests of the U.S. and endanger the international monetary system.

(6) *Renewable Sources of Energy.* These include a broad range of energy options, from familiar sources such as wood and hydropower to fast growing energy crops to passive solar designs and active solar systems to photovoltaic and other high technologies. Some are already playing a noticeable role. All of them present opportunities, but neither the full potential nor possible drawbacks are yet clear. But some combination of renewable energy sources will play a significant role in the 1990s and certainly in the next century. There is a need to continue incentives and information programs in order to develop renewable energies.

(7) *Research and Development.* The government must continue to assist in research and development. This is the way that many significant technologies, now important to our economy, were developed. Government can afford a risk that the private sector cannot bear, and can take a longer perspective than the individual firm. The recent cycle of increasing and then decreasing funds for R&D does not create a climate in which creativity and innovation can develop. It is also crucial that the R&D effort be balanced, and not, as now, concentrated only in nuclear power. Conservation and solar and synthetic fuels should be treated in an even-handed fashion. If we fail to move in this direction, we will lose competitiveness in world markets and American firms will lose competitiveness even in the market here at home.

(8) *Protections for Lower-Income Consumers.* The price control system of the 1970s can now be seen as a very ineffective way of protecting the less well-off. It proved a blunt instrument indeed. In its place, specific programs should be targeted at these groups, aimed not only at helping them to meet a disproportionately heavy burden of energy costs but also to become more efficient in their use of energy.

(9) *A Gasoline Tax or an Oil Import Fee.* This should be very seriously considered as a way to raise revenues, to provide the stable environment that Detroit needs in order to revive, and to give clear signals to consumers. A twenty-five-cent-a-gallon tax on gas could raise about $25 billion.

(10) *Investment.* An important element in fostering adjustment to the new world of energy is an economic climate that encourages investment in new capital stock. Therefore, a sound economic environment can be regarded as a key part of a sound energy policy. That is not what we have today. High interest rates function as an energy policy by reducing economic activity and creating the appearance of reduced energy consumption. Yet at the same time they reduce investment and so impede the needed adjustment in our economy.

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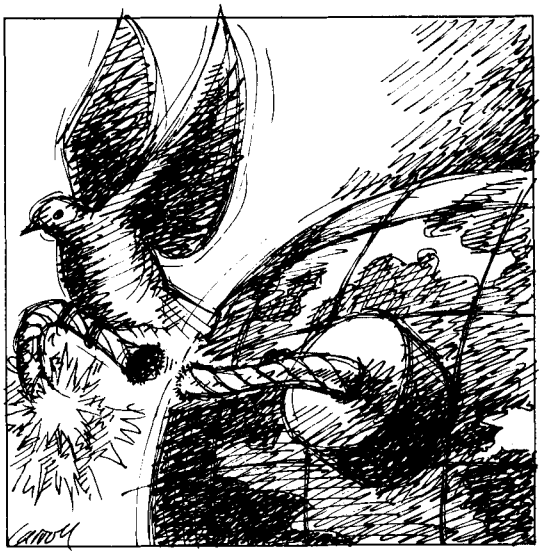
FOREIGN POLICY



BY WALTER LAQUEUR & CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

ONE CAN HARDLY speak of a Reagan foreign policy. The Reagan Administration's haphazard ventures into international affairs have consisted almost exclusively of harsh rhetoric, indiscriminate arms sales, irresponsible talk about limited nuclear war, and a bending of American national interests to the re-

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quirements of big business. Its call for a U.S. military build-up, without clearly explaining to the American people what foreign policy objectives such a build-up would serve, has radically eroded the consensus that had been developing during the last Democratic Administration in favor of strengthening our defenses. It will be the task of the next Democratic Administration to rebuild this consensus by clearly delineating the foreign policy objectives of the United States and demonstrating that they are grounded in a desire to support freedom, preserve peace, and promote justice and human rights wherever possible.

THE ABSENCE of a global strategy, of a basic concept of how to pursue American ideas and interests, has been the hallmark of the Republican Administration. Its excessive rhetoric has been accompanied by weakness and inconsistency of action. It has operated on the simple-minded belief that increasing military strength would somehow solve problems which are essentially political in nature. Military strength is vital. In its absence, America's voice cannot be heard, and, far from enhancing the cause of peace, this would encourage the drift toward world anarchy. But strength is not a policy. It is only the prerequisite for a policy. As a result, we have had only empty threats, vacillation, lack of political initiative, and, on various occasions, virtual paralysis in the foreign political field. It has been a sad performance, one that has caused confusion among our friends and left the initiative to our adversaries.

(1) *U.S.-Soviet Relations.* We have long suffered from a basic failure to understand what can and cannot be achieved in relations with the Kremlin. The pendulum has swung between unrealistic optimism and unjustified despair. The present Soviet leadership does not want war with America, nor does it want to create major crises which could escalate into major war. But neither does it want peace, peaceful coexistence, or detente—as most Americans understand these concepts. It is not a revolutionary power; indeed, it is one of the most conservative regimes in the world. But it is still basically hostile to America and all it stands for. Soviet leaders believe that their influence has to be maintained at all cost in Eastern Europe against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population (the Brezhnev Doctrine). They have also used every opportunity to weaken America and the West in general, avoiding a direct collision but taking advantage of every vulnerability.

It follows that unilateral American concessions to the Soviet Union would be accepted without gratitude. They would be interpreted as a sign either of weakness or stupidity. Lowering American defenses would endanger world peace by encouraging the otherwise cautious Soviet leaders to engage in a more forward, aggressive policy in various parts of the world. They will be more willing to take risks if the risks are smaller.

The basic principle of U.S.-Soviet relations has to be reciprocity. The response to pressure has to be counterpressure, the response to positive moves and initiatives has to be made in a similar spirit. This the present Administration has utterly failed to do. After a year of harsh rhetoric and purely symbolic anti-Soviet gestures, the Administration acquiesced in the re-Stalinization of Poland. The crushing of freedom in Poland should have been met with the strongest possible American economic countermeasures, including declaring Poland in default and cutting off credit, to make the Soviets pay the full price for empire. On the other hand, the Administration's obsession with the Soviet role in such conflicts as the civil war in El Salvador has bred cynicism and suspicion, and jeopardized domestic support for a firm anti-Soviet policy. The vacillation over Poland and the fixation on El Salvador as an East-West conflict have contributed to the perception of an America afraid to respond to real examples of Soviet imperialism and given to overreaction in cases with only the remotest Soviet involvement.

IT IS UNREALISTIC to pretend that between the U.S. and the Soviet Union there is anything other than a political struggle—a real conflict that cannot be wished away. As seen from the Soviet Union, the cold war has not ceased; only the atmosphere has changed at times. But it is equally foolish, and defeatist as well, to conclude that no agreement is possible with the Soviets. Like us, they want to avoid the unimaginable destruction of war and thus they too have a vested interest in crisis management and arms reduction. The Administration's single initiative thus far in office—the zero option for reduction of intermediate nuclear

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weapons in Europe—is to be welcomed. But there should also be an immediate resumption of strategic arms reduction talks. The fears and uncertainties created by the Reagan Administration's perceived indifference to this issue have given rise to the current spate of calls for an immediate bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons. But the "freeze" is a slogan, not a plan; and even if it were practical, it would cancel the zero option offer in Europe. That offer, by correcting the massive inequality that has resulted from the Soviet installation of SS-20 missiles in Europe, would help stabilize the European frontier, and thus make nuclear war in Europe far less likely. On strategic weapons, Democrats should support immediate negotiations for drastic and balanced reductions in current arsenals, a goal that would be delayed, and perhaps prevented, by interminable debates over the meaning and enforcement of any bilateral "freeze."

(2) *America and Its Allies.* NATO came into being in a specific historical constellation that no longer exists. The need today for a defensive alliance is as strong as ever, but it has become imperative to reconsider and renegotiate the scope of the alliance and the rights and duties of its members. The failure to do so has weakened NATO; further delay may be fatal. The initiative ought to come from America as the senior and most powerful partner.

It should be U.S. policy to encourage greater European political and military unity inside NATO, even if as a result American political preferences are not always accepted. Such an arrangement will be in America's long-term interest. In 1950 Europe (and Japan) were still in ruins. Today they are industrial giants, and they do not lack the manpower needed for their conventional defense. They should have a part in the alliance commensurate with their economic strength and their contribution to the defense of Europe.

NATO reform will cause some temporary upheaval. Americans have become accustomed to making the important decisions alone, and Europeans are used to taking a back seat—and acting like backseat drivers. Both will have to change their attitudes: NATO will have to become a joint venture.

WHAT IF IT SHOULD appear that Europe, or substantial segments of Europe, lack the will to coordinate their defense efforts among themselves, to take greater responsibility for the conduct of NATO affairs? Or if it should appear that the interests among the segments of the alliance diverge more widely than hitherto assumed? These are possibilities, though remote ones. Although nations do not necessarily always act in their own best interests, they do not usually act against them for any length of time. Located close to the superpower with the greater ambitions, they know (like most of the countries of the Middle East) that they need the help of the other superpower to restore the geopolitical balance. The alternative is not neutrality, but Soviet hegemony in Europe and the Middle East. There is a danger that American help is taken for granted, not only by our friends but especially by those who wish to follow an independent line. It is the duty of U.S. foreign policy makers to disabuse them of such misconceptions. It has to be made clear that the U.S. will be ready to defend Europe as in the past, but that such a relationship can no longer be a unilateral guarantee as it was in 1950. Europe's part in the alliance, its greater rights and greater duties, will have to be redefined.

(3) *The Third World.* One of the most regrettable features of U.S. foreign policy is its lack of success in third world countries. To a certain extent this is the result of objective difficulties. Many of these countries have attained independence only in recent decades; they lack political and social stability, and they confront major economic problems. It would have been a miracle if in this short time they had developed stable, democratic institutions. With some notable exceptions, rapid and violent change rather than continuity has been the norm. This is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future.

AMERICA CAN BE a disinterested friend of the third world. Unlike the Soviet Union, the U.S. does not want to convert anyone to a specific political, social, or economic system. Our main long-term interest is that third world countries remain independent, free to make their own choices. We must recognize that although we regard parliamentary democracy as the best form of government, it is futile to pursue a foreign policy which seeks to impose our model on newly independent countries.

We should be willing to lend economic and development aid to a wide variety of third world countries, but only on two conditions: (1) that they demonstrate a decent respect for elementary human rights, and (2) that they demonstrate a decent respect for the United States and its interests. Those who make it a practice to vilify the U.S. and to act systematically against its interests cannot expect its assistance.

These principles apply not only to nations but to international organizations as well. The United Nations and its specialized agencies were established to promote human rights and the peaceful solution of conflicts between nations. Democrats have always supported these international ideals and helped establish the U.N. to realize them. To say that the U.N. has fallen short of these ideals is wrong. It has betrayed them. It systematically ignores violations of human rights and threats to peace; instead, it diverts its energies and resources to fanning the flames of selected regional conflicts, and assaulting Western values and interests. The United States must steadfastly resist these pressures in the U.N. If an automatic majority persists in subverting the noble aims of the U.N., we should seriously consider withdrawing the vast American

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contribution that makes U.N. activities possible in the first place.

America's policy toward foreign conflicts should, as a rule, be one of nonintervention; military intervention always involves great risk. But no responsible American statesman could or should promise that the U.S. will refrain in any and all circumstances from intervention. There may be situations in which the consequences of passivity are worse. It is impossible to delineate precisely how the U.S. should respond to every contingency. However, it should be clear to potential aggressors that the U.S. will not tolerate a Soviet takeover of the Persian Gulf, nor the establishment of foreign military bases in this hemisphere. Intervention should be exercised only with the greatest circumspection, but to deny policy makers this option is tantamount to abdicating America's role in world affairs, with incalculable consequences for the survival of Western societies and the cause of freedom.

(4) *The Middle East.* The Democrats must continue to work for peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors. The basis for such a search must be U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and the Camp David agreements, which are the proudest accomplishments of the last Democratic Administration. The peace process must attempt to: (1) maintain and broaden the normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel; (2) achieve autonomy for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza; and (3) expand the Camp David framework to bring in Israel's other neighbors.

IT IS IMPORTANT, however, to recognize that the Arab-Israeli conflict may not be susceptible to a quick or comprehensive solution in the near future. It is a deep-rooted dispute between conflicting nationalisms. There is no magic formula, and Washington must abandon the delusion that it can invent one. The absence of peace between Israel and her neighbors to the east is not the result of misperception. It results from the too accurate perception in Israel that the Arab states, except Egypt, consider Israel—all of Israel—"occupied territory" and intend, by a variety of means, to destroy it. Some of the means at their disposal have been demonstrated recently in Syria during the brutal suppression of the Hama uprising and in Lebanon by the endless death toll of its internecine terror and warfare. The U.S. must not add more means to the disposal of those—including Jordan—who refuse the path of recognition and negotiation. We must be steadfast in maintaining Israel's qualitative military superiority, because of our solemn commitment to her security, and because a strong Israel is the best deterrent to renewed war.

The U.S. has a special interest in the Persian Gulf because of the West's dependence on its oil supplies. U.S. foreign policy should make it absolutely clear that any intervention from the outside, directly or by proxies, would have incalculable consequences for world peace. The U.S. should seek the support of its Western allies in opposing foreign intervention in the Persian Gulf. But the indiscriminate sale of arms to unstable and unpredictable regimes in the area, particularly those that have consistently opposed military cooperation with the U.S., must cease. It can only be a source of more instability. Those nations which seek our protection should at least be willing to cooperate with us in common defense.

(5) *Africa.* The Democratic Party should pledge itself to improve U.S. relations with all African nations, to strive for economic development and justice, to help the African peoples in their endeavor to raise standards of living and create conditions for a better life. It should give such support to all nations, regardless of their domestic political orientation, provided they do not serve as military bases for foreign powers. We support self-determination for Namibia and the movement to end apartheid—which, because of America's own long struggle for racial justice, has special meaning for us.

(6) *The Far East and Southeast Asia.* A Democratic Administration should aim at further improvement in relations with its partners—the non-Communist countries of the Far East and the ASEAN countries. Transient economic differences must not be permitted to deteriorate into trade wars. The issues involved must be negotiated in a spirit of goodwill. A Democratic Administration should favor the normalization of relations with Vietnam, provided it desists from military intervention in the affairs of its neighbors and ceases to threaten them.

(7) *China.* Progress in U.S.-Chinese relations must continue. Much headway has been made during the last decade, and there must be no reversal in this process. Certain areas of contention exist, but the common interests between the two countries are broader than the differences of interest and opinion between them. A determined effort must be made to overcome these difficulties.

(8) *Latin America.* In El Salvador we should continue to support the Duarte government, while unmistakably urging it to follow a program of elections, land reform, greater control over the undisciplined forces in the military, and negotiation with the guerrillas (in the hope of bringing at least the moderate and democratic elements of the opposition into a coalition). We should also make it clear that the U.S. will not tolerate the establishment of Soviet offensive bases in this hemisphere. While the resolution of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 guaranteed that the U.S. would not invade Cuba, that agreement does not permit Cuba to engage in aggressive military adventures. Cuba can choose by its behavior whether it wishes normal or hostile relations with the U.S. If it pursues a genuinely independent policy, we should be prepared to reconcile our differences with Cuba.

We should give our support to forces pursuing lib-

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erty, independence, and economic and social progress throughout the hemisphere. We must recognize that these forces are historically weak in much of Latin America, that there has been a polarization between the antidemocratic forces of the left and the right. In these cases, U.S. foreign policy faces unpleasant choices. Occasionally we will be forced to accept undemocratic regimes. In doing so, the level of our support must depend on the respect they show for human rights as well as their determination not to make common cause with the enemies of the United States and its allies.

Streamlining the U.S. military.

DEFENSE AND ARMS CONTROL

BY R. JAMES WOOLSEY

THE UNITED STATES must be the champion of peace. Today that goal requires, above all, the military strength and the national will to deter aggression by the Soviet Union and its clients. The current era is particularly dangerous because the growing weakness of the Soviet empire's economy, political cohesion, and ideological appeal has been accompanied by the largest military build-up, outside wartime, in world history. In the dangerous years to come, we must find ways to check the inclination of the Soviets to seek solutions to their problems through military pressure or military adventure. A bipartisan consensus for strengthening our defense, which had begun to build during the last three years, is now being lost. This is due largely to record budget deficits, high interest rates, and a deepening recession. The American people will support the necessary improvements in defense if their economy permits, and if they have some hope that their sacrifices will help impede Soviet militarism. We must now take the lead in building a long-run bipartisan approach to defense and arms control.

(1) *Manpower.* The first step in building effective military forces is to recognize the primary importance of the men and women who serve in them. For the last decade, under the all-volunteer force, we have done our recruiting with dollars. This has had several negative effects. It has been expensive. It has discouraged military service by those who are willing to defer early earnings in pursuit of education, and has meant that the burden of combat—if we must fight—will fall on Watts, Appalachia, and South Boston, not on Groton and Santa Monica. It has tied successful recruiting, perversely, to a deteriorating economy and high unemployment.

To improve the quality of both our active and reserve forces, and to establish a fairer distribution of military obligations, one fundamental change should be made in the way we obtain people for the armed forces, and a second should be seriously considered. First, some form of GI bill should be reinstituted. It should again become possible to obtain the principal funding for a college education in exchange for an initial stint, at relatively low pay, in the military service. We must begin to rebuild the partnership between higher education and national security that was fractured by the Vietnam War and its aftermath. Second, we should seriously consider requiring that all physically and mentally qualified young men who serve neither in the regular military nor in alternative service as conscientious objectors receive several months' basic training and become members of a pool of reservists ready to be assigned to units if the need arises. In addition to providing manpower for the reserves, this obligation could also be used to help improve medical care and reading skills, and to enhance the employability of a large part of the population. Within the structure of existing legal limitations, we should make full use of the skills of women in military and related civil service.

(2) *Conventional Forces.* We will not be able to overwhelm the Soviets or their clients on the Eurasian mainland. We must outthink them and exploit their weaknesses. The massive Soviet nuclear build-up has meant that we cannot heavily rely on our own nuclear forces to deter conventional conflict. We must demand innovation in strategy, tactics, and weapons, and be able, with our allies, to deter the Soviets—whatever kinds of warfare they choose.

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We should make strong efforts to persuade our allies, particularly economically strong ones such as Japan and West Germany, to do more to defend Europe and Northeast Asia. Even if this occurs, however, we must improve, not reduce, our own conventional forces. As part of our alliances, we must be able to protect the oil-rich Persian Gulf, and we may be required to defend other allies in troubled parts of the world.

We need to make two major types of improvements in our conventional forces. In the short run, we must see to their readiness, modernizing them by buying what is necessary and available—such as munitions and weapons now in production—and providing the ships and aircraft needed for airlift and sealift. Simultaneously, we must vigorously begin to reform our military doctrine, tactics, training, strategy, and equipment in order to take better advantage of the weaknesses of the Soviets and their clients. Our technology gives us the opportunity to do this. It is not enough—indeed it is both dangerous and costly—merely to buy those weapons incorporating the most sophisticated and complex technology. We must develop a tactical instinct for the jugular—not the capillaries on which we so often concentrate—and exploit our ingenuity in electronics and other fields of technology to make it hopeless for the Soviets or their clients to advance their causes militarily.

THERE ARE a number of ways in which we can work toward making their military efforts hopeless: (1) by using our technology to increase the reliability and reduce the cost of new weapons rather than to make them complex, costly, and fragile; (2) by increasing our efforts in space and beneath the surface of the oceans; (3) by increasing the effectiveness of our existing forces, using such methods as radically improving our ability to conduct electronic warfare, adding cruise missiles to existing ships and aircraft, and deploying precision-guided antitank munitions; (4) by emphasizing innovative and demanding training and realistic maneuvers for our forces; (5) by designing our weapons to be readily modernizable without massive construction. We should not have to build an entire new class of ships when we need to modernize the Navy's radars; (6) by using technology where it counts: not all submarines or aircraft carriers need be nuclear-powered, not all tanks need be large and heavy; and (7) by demanding forces that emphasize agility and the ability to maneuver.

We must recognize that it is rarely useful to spend billions of dollars for marginal changes in the ships, aircraft, and vehicles that carry weapons and sensors. We can apply our ingenuity more effectively to the sensors and weapons that these ships and aircraft carry. Our lowest priority should be increasing traditional active forces—for example, current types of divisions, air wings, or aircraft carriers—before we have modernized these forces with innovative weapons, and improved readiness. Where greater numbers are needed, they should be added, if at all feasible, to the far less expensive reserves, rather than to the active forces.

(3) *Strategic Forces.* The primary role of our strategic forces is deterrence. To accomplish this, they must be able to destroy the military and other instruments of Soviet national power even after having been attacked. The Soviets must be convinced that their own forces could not successfully threaten or fight a nuclear war, limited or otherwise.

We can be confident that in the event of a first strike by the Soviets, a high proportion of those of our strategic forces that survived would be able to penetrate Soviet defenses. But the survivability of those forces cannot be taken for granted. The Soviets have devoted extraordinary resources over the last decade to putting our silo-based intercontinental ballistic missiles at risk. Our strategic bombers are a useful part of both our strategic nuclear and conventional forces. But bombers will always depend on early warning to escape from their bases in case of attack, and, unless properly modernized and equipped, will have difficulty penetrating Soviet air defenses. Thus, as we move into the 1990s, Trident submarines could be our only survivable strategic force that does not depend on warning. We would be relying—dangerously—on the ability of a handful of huge submarines to avoid detection.

In order to add to our confidence in the overall survivability of our strategic forces, we should: modernize and strengthen our strategic command, control, and communications, and protect our space-based systems; modernize our bomber force and deploy cruise missiles on it; begin to augment the Trident force with smaller submarines; and, as a hedge against Soviet efforts to put our submarines and bombers at risk, develop other basing methods for strategic missiles at as low a cost as feasible. We should examine antiballistic missile technology carefully, but unless there is a technological breakthrough, we should be cautious about relying upon it for the very difficult job of defending a few known points such as ICBM silos or a small number of shelters. Counting on a vulnerable land-based ICBM force for deterrence, which would be protected by an expensive ABM with much advertised but little real capability, would be a strategic and financial disaster.

(4) *Arms Control.* The first priority of arms control should be to rejuvenate the now-faltering efforts to halt the dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons. Relaxing our opposition to the transfer to third countries of the technology and materials necessary to produce nuclear weapons is short-sighted, dangerous, and potentially tragic. We should promptly establish joint U.S.-Soviet measures to ensure that communications between the two nations will perform in a crisis

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and survive a nuclear attack by a third country. We need to limit the possibility of U.S.-Soviet nuclear war occurring through nuclear terrorism, miscalculation, or calculated effort by a third party.

We should forthrightly pursue negotiations with the Soviets on limiting destabilizing strategic forces. Simple overall limitations and reductions in the aggregate size of ballistic missiles and the number of their warheads should be considered, or some other proposal leaving each side the flexibility to shift from vulnerable ballistic missile systems to other, more survivable, systems in order to preserve deterrence and stability. But we must remember that the chances of success in such negotiations are far greater if the Soviets know that we can preserve our own forces' survivability and ability to deter even if we find that such agreements cannot be reached, ratified, or renewed.

A total bilateral freeze on work on all nuclear weapons and on all related missiles and aircraft would enhance Soviet efforts to put our forces at risk and would endanger strategic stability. Existing Soviet nuclear forces and unconstrained Soviet nonnuclear programs could steadily increase our strategic vulnerability under such a freeze. Many of the restrictions would be unverifiable without the kind of inspection that the Soviets have firmly opposed; there are currently serious questions about Soviet compliance with unverifiable international agreements that ban biological and toxin weapons.

(5) *Defense Management and Industry*. Most of the problems of high cost and excessive complexity of the weapons bought by our military forces can be traced to a lack of competition, condoned by the Department of Defense and Congress, among industry suppliers. Under the current system, a defense contractor ordinarily becomes sole supplier of a weapon once he wins the contract to develop it. Before the contract is signed, the contractor's and the government's cost estimates are low; after approval of the system for development, the costs grow steadily. It is imperative that funds be spent at the beginning of a weapons program to ensure that at least two contractors are qualified to produce each weapon throughout the life of the program. True competition between at least two producers should largely replace the myriad reports, tiers of reviewers in the Pentagon and Congress, and echelons of micromanagement that make the current system so ponderous and expensive.

INNOVATION must be encouraged by the government. It can do so by paying the actual costs of research and development, and by supporting small, innovative design teams and small companies. This should correct the current bias toward large firms, caused by industry's need to rely on production contracts to recoup research and development losses. Competition in research and development should be based on the contractor's technical ability to demonstrate reliability, simplicity, and toughness in the field and laboratory. Competition should not be based, as it is now, on an effort to produce the maximum amount of paper justifying the most unrealistic cost estimate. These steps could reduce much of the waste in the weapons acquisition process. Major overall defense budget reductions, however—based on alleged large and quick possible savings from eliminating fraud and mismanagement—would hinder such reforms.

(6) *Costs*. First, we should halt the sale by American and other Western corporations of sophisticated technology, highly useful in military applications, to the Soviets. Such sales have seriously complicated and increased the cost of our own defense efforts. Second, to provide both savings in cost and increased military effectiveness in the defense budget, we should concentrate not on next year's spending, but on our long-run investments: the size and nature of our military forces. Virtually none of the defense budget can sensibly be managed as an annual countercyclical tool. To try to do so wastes money, produces hollow and unready forces, and ignores the long-range factors that should drive our defense planning: the military capabilities of the Soviets and their client states, and efficient procurement for our own defense needs.

ALTHOUGH MUCH of the immediate increased spending planned for defense can be justified as necessary to improve readiness deficiencies, some individual procurement increases may well be too steep to be efficient or may involve ineffective weapons. Specific reductions in such cases are reasonable. And some of the planned increases in structure—tactical air wings and carrier battle groups—in the active forces may arguably be avoided or postponed at this time of great national economic difficulty.

But a steady increase in the defense budget over the next several years, from around 6 percent of the gross national product to around 7 percent, will probably be needed, however shrewdly and efficiently it is spent. Such an increase is not a disproportionate burden—compared either to the far greater Soviet military expansion, or to the far higher share of national resources spent on defense, for example, during the Administration of John F. Kennedy. And it is dwarfed by the excessive tax cuts that have created the federal government's serious fiscal dilemma. We should set a goal of trying to do the job at a lower cost if possible, and we should manage the build-up without large variations in the rate of growth. But the need in defense is not for wholesale cuts in the first installment payments that are reducing the huge backlog of necessary improvements. It is for a sustained effort toward obtaining more capable manpower, a competitive defense industry, a more survivable nuclear deterrent, more stabilizing arms control measures, higher readiness, and shrewder innovation.

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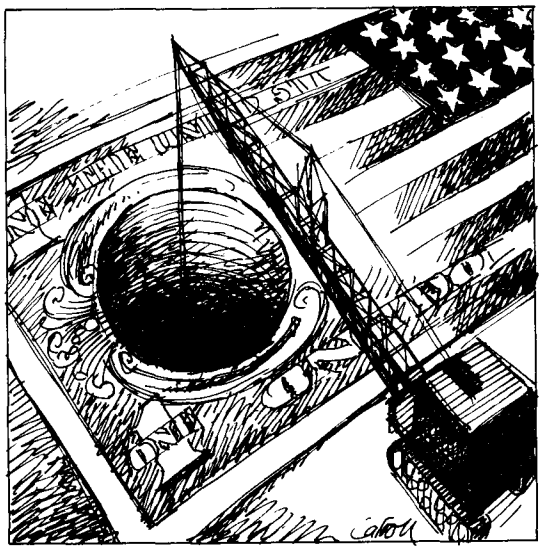
America's productivity problems can't be solved by investment alone.

THE ECONOMY



BY LESTER THUROW

THE UNITED STATES emerged from World War II with an economic and technological lead so enormous that for three decades we could turn a blind eye to the overall quality of our products and the skills of our workers. But that period has come to an end. Our effortless superiority has disappeared, and we are now in a world where we will have to learn to compete with inexpensive and often technologically advanced products from industrial nations abroad.

You can't make a superior product out of inferior parts. Yet that is what we are trying to do in both our private economy and our public policies. No one denies that our quality control has slipped. Public opinion polls show that the vast preponderance of American consumers thinks that Japanese products are superior to American products. Considering the overall state of the American economy—high unemployment, inflation, and a declining standard of living—this is hardly surprising. The American family saves 5 percent of its income. Families in other industrial nations save between 10 and 20 percent of their income. Our social infrastructure—roads, ports, bridges—is collapsing under our feet. Private managers have become bureaucrats, unwilling to take risks. Although the productivity of thirty million blue-collar workers is rising, it is overwhelmed by that of fifty million white-collar workers whose productivity is falling. In education, achievements standards are slipping everywhere. Scholastic Aptitude Test scores fell for eighteen consecutive years until they leveled off last year. Functional illiteracy is endemic among those who drop out of high school (and even among some who complete it). How can we construct a functioning economy with functionally illiterate workers?

American industrial productivity is lower than it was in 1977, and in the last quarter it took a sharp 7.6-percent plunge. If productivity falls, the American standard of living must fall, even if every other economic problem is "cured." With stagnant productivity, our standard of living declines relative to that of other industrial countries and our ability to engage in worldwide military and diplomatic relations deteriorates.

REAGANOMICS recognizes only one sickness in the American economy—too little investment. If the Administration's cure of tax cuts for the rich and welfare cuts for the poor could work, it would be nice for those of us in the top 80 percent of the income distribution. Unfortunately, it cannot work. Contrary to Reagan's assurances, the rich are not saving and investing at dramatic rates. And until productivity improves, the U.S. will be at a competitive disadvantage with other industrial nations. Furthermore, increased investment does not necessarily lead to a more productive economy. While productivity was growing by more than 3 percent per year, from 1948 to 1965, Americans were investing 9.5 percent of the gross national product in private plant and equipment. While productivity was falling, from 1977 to 1981, Americans were investing 11.3 percent of the GNP in private plant and equipment. Investment went up 20 percent as productivity slipped. Why?

The solution to the puzzle is simple. Thanks to the baby boom of twenty years ago, the labor force is growing very rapidly. Plant and equipment per worker are falling, even though the overall investment in plant and equipment is growing faster. With this falling ratio of capital to labor, it is no surprise that productivity is also falling. To keep the capital-labor ratio from falling, we would have had to invest 14 to 15 percent of the GNP. But even that would not have been good enough. The Japanese invest approximately 20 percent of their GNP. To keep up with the Japanese on an investment-per-worker basis, Americans would have to invest almost 30 percent of the GNP. Japan leads the world in robotics (70 percent of the world's robots work there) not because they invented robots, but because they are investing enough to afford them.

The investment problem cannot be solved by cutting the living standards of the poorest 20 percent of the population and transferring their income to investment. The earnings and welfare payments of this group comprise 3.4 percent of the GNP. Even if Americans were willing to starve the bottom 20 percent of the population and transfer all their income to invest-

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ment, they would have only begun to solve the investment problem. Any solution will have to be paid for by the middle class and the upper-middle class, and by the wealthy.

Across-the-board tax cuts and big budget deficits will not solve the problem of a low savings rate. Individual Americans save approximately $100 billion per year. A $100-billion budget deficit essentially wipes out all of these personal savings. If the aim is more savings, budget surpluses—not deficits—are required. To raise American savings rates, now 5 percent, will entail such politically harsh remedies as eliminating the tax deductibility of consumer and mortgage credit, increasing minimum down payments for homes and consumer durables, and shifting the tax system toward a model based on consumption rather than income taxes.

CLEARLY IT IS going to take more than extra investment to solve America's productivity problems. The American economy desperately needs skilled workers. Yet the Reagan Administration is dismantling federal education and training programs. After the Sputnik shock in 1957, the United States embarked on a successful major program to improve human skills; a similar effort will have to be made in the 1980s. The individuals who are not trained remain part of society. What is to become of unskilled high school dropouts in the coming era of robots? They are going to be part of our society for the rest of their lives, and their children may carry on where they left off. To do nothing will be to create a social time bomb. Other countries have elaborate systems for training skilled blue-collar workers. We have none.

There are going to have to be institutional changes as well as efforts to increase productivity and improve the skills of our workers. Other successful economies are marked by aggressive investment banking—usually government-backed—that essentially carries out national industrial policies. For all practical purposes, the U.S. does not have investment banks. There are institutions, such as Morgan Stanley, bearing the name, but none of them commit major sums to long-run investments. They are, instead, middlemen between potential industrialists and investors.

But the real case for private and public investment banks is that we are gradually creating an inefficient system of low-quality Congressional investment banking. Think of recent Congressional investment banking actions: Lockheed, Chrysler, the Alaskan natural-gas pipeline. Whatever you think about the rights and wrongs of these actions, it is clear that we need a different mechanism for dealing with the demands that led to those Congressional actions.

Increased productivity will require changes in both public policy and private corporations. If one makes a distinction between hard productivity gains (those due to more investment or research and development) and soft productivity gains (those due to a better motivated work force and better management), soft productivity is a major potential vein of new wealth. In a number of American plants, Japanese managers have proved that they can get American workers to work more efficiently than American managers can. There is a job for everybody to do if we are to begin raising productivity. Every group has contributed to the problem and every group will have to alter its behavior to solve it.

As for stagflation, the Reagan strategy of monetarism can stop inflation only at the expense of rising unemployment and a falling GNP. To save the economy it must be destroyed. To eliminate the inflation we have inherited from the past, the present system of overlapping, indexed, three-year wage contracts must be changed. This system makes it difficult to phase down wage gains unless an industry is on the brink of extinction. Suppose that this year the machinists' union is negotiating a new three-year contract. Last year the United Auto Workers negotiated a three-year contract for a 10 percent raise per year. In many plants machinists work right next to auto workers. No leader of the machinists can settle for less than 10 percent per year and remain in office. And in two years' time the auto leader will be similarly imprisoned by what the machinists negotiate today.

Without a common bargaining period, it is also difficult for the economic facts of life to percolate down to individual workers. Every union leader knows that real wage increases cannot exceed the rate of productivity growth. If wage settlements are higher, inflation will simply raise prices to eliminate the difference. Yet how is this to be communicated to the individual worker? And how is the individual worker to know that his restraint will be matched by that of other workers?

If every worker, union and nonunion, had his wages set at the same time, and if all contracts ran out at the same time, it would be possible to have a national period of self-education—the Japanese call it "the spring offensive"—about the economic facts of life. In a context where everybody knew what the other was getting, it might be possible to engineer a simultaneous slowdown in wage increases so that they come back into line with productivity gains.

Finally, to prevent inflation from reemerging, some method must be found to synchronize wages more closely with productivity growth. Flexible wages do not eliminate the need for monetary or fiscal policies, but they reduce the burden that must be placed upon them. It is not possible to make the current American economy work if government can only press on the brakes and accelerators marked fiscal policy or monetary policy. This is the strategy that has been tried since the start of the Vietnam War, and it has not worked under Republican or Democratic Administrations.

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Fifth in a Series

ARE JAPANESE EXECUTIVES BETTER PEOPLE MANAGERS THAN AMERICAN EXECUTIVES?

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Much has been written about Japanese management style.

Quality circles, lifetime employment, corporate anthems, exercise programs, etc.

The implication is that the style of Japanese management is superior to that of American management. And that for Japanese companies, this particular style works both at home and abroad.

But did you know that this style is not universally practiced in Japan? In many Japanese companies, employment tenure varies, quality circles don't exist, the boss is the boss.

And did you know that many American companies have an even better record of management than some Japanese companies? We believe that one of these companies is Motorola. Why? It all starts with our respect for the dignity of the individual employee. We apply this philosophy in many employee-related programs.

Our Participative Management Program brings our people together in work teams that regularly, openly and effectively communicate ideas and solutions that help improve quality and productivity. In the process, many employees tell us that the program also enhances their job satisfaction.

Are employee exercise programs, company songs and lifetime employment the best ways to increase productivity?

Motorola's Technology Ladder provides opportunities for technical people, such as design engineers, to progress in professional esteem, rank and compensation in a way comparable to administrators and officers.

Our ten-year service club rewards employee dedication and loyalty with special protection for continued employment and benefits. And in an industry noted for both explosive growth and high mobility, almost one-quarter of our U.S. employees have been with us for more than a decade.

Our open door policy enables employees to voice a grievance all the way up to the Chairman. It's rarely needed, but it's there. And it works. These and other programs reflect our respect for, and commitment to, the individual and the team. Their continuing effectiveness is reflected in the direct and open, non-union relationship among all our people, whether production workers, engineers or office workers. All of this works for us as we work for you.

Meeting Japan's Challenge requires an enlightened management style—demonstrated by our participative management style that respects the dignity of the individual.

MOTOROLA A World Leader in Electronics

Quality and productivity through employee participation in management.

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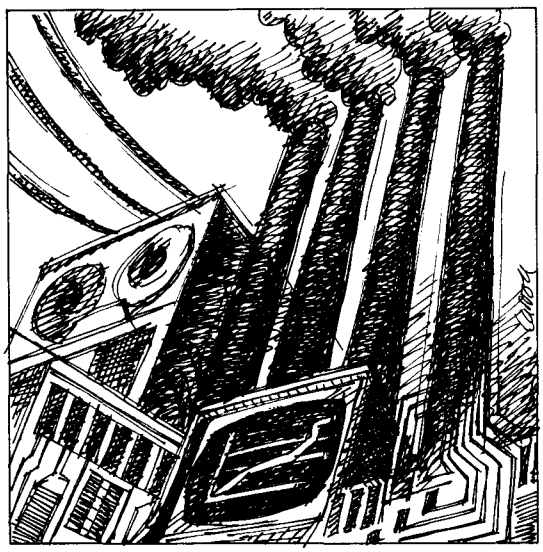
Ten ways to help create
a dynamic American economy.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY



BY ROBERT B. REICH

THE AMERICAN economy is unraveling. Its problems began before Ronald Reagan came to Washington, but Reaganomics is hastening the decline. Democrats have an easy target in Reagan's incoherent management of the economy, which combines tight money with fiscal profligacy. But Democrats must understand that not even a reasonable mix of fiscal and monetary policies will solve the current problems of the American economy. We are beyond economic "fine-tuning." America needs a new industrial policy.

The economies of the United States and of every other industrialized nation are undergoing a profound structural change. Heavy industries that dominated these economies in the last half-century—steel, textiles, automobiles, rubber, shipbuilding, machine tools, petrochemicals—are becoming less competitive in world markets. These industries are moving to developing countries where lower wages or easier access to raw materials, coupled with increasingly efficient worldwide transportation and communication, make high-volume production more profitable. The only way industrialized nations can increase their citizens' standard of living in the future is to concentrate production in high technologies (like semiconductors, fiber optics, lasers, biotechnology, and robotics) and in high-value "niches" within heavy industries (like steel mini-mills, numerically controlled machine tools, special chemicals, and automobile components).

Japan understands this future. So do West Germany, France, and Sweden. They also know that economic success will depend upon the speed and efficiency of the shift in production, not simply on the magnitude of the new investment. Governments and businesses in these nations therefore are racing to gain sophistication and production economies in these new sectors. Britain and the United States, trapped in an outmoded ideology that refuses to recognize the significance of this structural change, or the need for a national strategy to respond quickly to it, are experiencing massive unemployment and declining real incomes.

The choice is not between the free market and centralized planning, and Democrats should eschew these ideological compartments. The real choice is either rapid adjustment of the national economy to changes in the world market or protection of the national economy from the world market. Protection can be achieved through tariffs, quotas, marketing agreements, bailouts, business tax breaks, restrictions on factory closings, "enterprise zones" in which minimum wages are reduced, and wage concessions by labor unions. These measures will save some American jobs in the short run. But in the long run they will erode the real incomes of Americans. We will become a nation of assemblers, extractors, and retailers—poor by the standards of the rest of the world.

Already America's gross national product per person (a crude measure of economic well-being, to be sure) is lower than it is in nine other industrialized countries. Our average life expectancy is lower than in fourteen other industrialized countries, and our unemployment higher. We enjoy less job security. We have higher rates of infant mortality. Our distribution of income is less equal. These are aspects of long-term trends that were already taking shape fifteen years ago. Democrats should be sounding the alarm.

Democrats must suggest ways to speed the movement of capital and labor into higher-valued productivity. But they should not advocate a Japanese-style Ministry of Industry to select industrial "winners" and "losers" and attempt to shift capital from the latter to the former. In our decentralized system of government, such an institution would soon be overrun by declining segments of mature industries, all clamoring for protection. (Herbert Hoover, as Secretary of Commerce in the 1920s, came about as close to creating this type of institution as one could without cartelizing the economy; when central planning was extended further, in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's National Recovery Administration, it succumbed.) The Democratic alternative must be less grandiose—more precisely focused on bottlenecks and constraints that retard economic change, and on the amelioration of burdens that make economic change particularly painful to hard-hit groups.

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Democrats should propose:

(1) *Employment Vouchers.* Under this program, low-skilled or unemployed workers would receive vouchers that they could cash in for on-the-job training. Companies that accepted the vouchers would have half their training costs paid by the government, for up to three years. This program would match training to specific industry needs, ensure that companies undertook some portion of the investment so that they had a stake in employing the newly trained workers, and create incentives for companies to locate in high-unemployment, low-skill regions whose work forces would collectively represent a substantial subsidy.

A program like this is urgently needed. Women and minorities, mostly unskilled, will account for 74 percent of the growth of the labor force in the next decade. Most people who are now unemployed are unskilled. Yet the demand for skilled and semiskilled machinists, engineers, computer programmers and operators, elementary software designers, and semiskilled machine operators continues to grow. In other words, we are now experiencing an extraordinary bottleneck in job mobility. The pending defense build-up will make things worse. Employment vouchers could help ease this necessary shift in the labor market.

(2) *A Human Capital Tax Credit and Community Investment Tax Deduction.* Under this proposal, companies would receive tax credits for retraining older workers for new jobs and tax deductions for remaining in their communities, with the amount of deduction increasing according to the length of their stay (in effect, a kind of reverse-depreciation).

The federal tax code now provides generous incentives for companies that invest in new physical capital, but none for companies that invest in their workers and communities. Indeed, companies that wish to desert their workers and communities in pursuit of greener pastures can now deduct their costs of moving as a business expense, write off the plant and machinery left behind, and obtain tax credits and accelerated depreciation against new plant and machinery purchased at the new location. This policy preference generates large social costs as workers and communities are left stranded within pockets of unemployment. The policy should be reversed.

(3) *Social Investment Accounting.* The Reagan Administration views public expenditures on health and education as forms of collective consumption that must be reduced in order to increase the amount of resources left over for productive investment. This is false accounting. Sums spent on health and education are investments in America's future productivity. Our past economic success was based on a skillful, educated, and healthy work force, and Reagan's deep cuts in social programs threaten the future economic well-being of the nation. Democrats should treat these expenditures as "social investments." They should develop a system for measuring the nation's total annual social investment, as compared to business fixed investment, and should ensure that its account is sufficiently endowed.

(4) *Regional Development Banks.* Under this program, the federal government would establish regional banks to provide low-interest, long-term loans to promising industries within a region. The banks would also supply cities and towns with low-interest financing for maintaining and developing regional infrastructure such as roads and sewage treatment plants. The banks would finance themselves through the issuance of government-guaranteed bonds and shares of stock. Bank directors would be appointed by state governors. The present haphazard system of industrial development bonds, Urban Development Action Grants, and Community Development Administration loans would be eliminated.

America's economy has come to be based on distinct economic regions, each with its own climate, raw materials, demographics, and special needs. Major business investments have multiplier effects throughout a region, creating new skills and spinning off new innovations (consider Silicon Valley around Stanford University, and Route 128 around Harvard and MIT), spawning networks of suppliers that are dependent on the region's major industries, and often creating new problems for the region (traffic congestion, inadequate sewage treatment, disposal of toxic wastes, water shortages). Within America's regional economies, public and private investments are inextricably linked. But as its capital markets have become national and even international, bank lenders and institutional investors have become less concerned about these linkages. Instead, private capital markets now focus narrowly on an individual company's "bottom line." Publicly supported regional development banks would help fill this void.

(5) *Pension Fund Development-Investments.* Under this proposal, at least 15 percent of employee pension funds would be invested, either in the form of equity or long-term debt, in regional development banks within regions where the employees reside. Pension funds are rapidly becoming a primary source of industry financing in America. Public-employee pension fund assets now exceed $200 billion; private-employee funds, $450 billion. This year, pension funds are expected to absorb $11 billion of new corporate debt, and most of the new equity issues. But a substantial part of this investment will be unrelated to America's economic development. Pension funds now hold $12 billion in foreign securities and another $13 billion in real estate. By 1990, if present trends continue, 22 percent of pension fund assets will be invested in these ways. A requirement that at least 15 percent of pension funds be invested in regional development banks would help spur the American economy and thereby benefit American workers over the long term.

(6) *Applied Research Centers.* Under this proposal,

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companies within a particular industry could participate together in applied research, under the auspices of regional universities. Their participation would be immunized from the antitrust laws; the federal government would share equally in funding research projects.

America doesn't suffer from a lack of inventiveness—look at the abundance of American Nobel laureates. Our problem is that we don't apply these inventions to commercial products and processes quickly enough. Many American companies are slow to incorporate new technologies because major changes in production are costly and risky. Applied research centers could reduce these costs and risks.

(7) *A Progressive Consumption Tax.* This proposal would replace the personal income tax. Under it, personal income would not be taxed so long as it remained as savings. But sums withdrawn from savings during the course of a year would be taxable, and the yearly tax would be greater the more money was withdrawn. In that sense, this tax is very progressive, but the proposal does not extend to the vast fortunes now being accumulated, primarily in oil and other natural resources. As a matter of equity, then, these socially and politically distorting accumulations of wealth would at least be taxed significantly at death.

Republicans have sought to spur savings by cutting taxes for the rich. Their plan assumes that rich people are more likely to save their extra dollars of earnings than are poor people, for the simple reason that the poor are more likely to need that extra dollar for basic necessities. But this assumption is highly questionable. The rich are just as likely to spend the extra dollar on Persian carpets, rare paintings, antiques, yachts, luxury cars, and vacations. Expenditures like these make many middle-class and lower-middle-class people feel even poorer, and convince them that the burden of fighting inflation and achieving economic growth is not being shared equitably. A progressive consumption tax would help increase total savings without causing larger inequities in income.

(8) *No Interest Deduction for Purchase of Existing Assets.* The tax code now rewards corporations and individuals for rearranging assets and speculating on their future value, instead of investing in new wealth. It does this by making interest payments on such purchases tax deductible. Under this proposal, companies and individuals would be able to deduct interest only for purchasing new assets or modernizing old ones. Mergers and acquisitions would not qualify for tax deductions. Nor would commodity futures, paintings by old masters, or real estate. Lest we suddenly impoverish millions of middle-class home owners with this measure, however, mortgage interest payments on one's principal residence would be deductible even for older houses, but the deduction would be limited to $5,000 per year.

(9) *Federal Reserve Restrictions on Speculative Loans.* It makes no sense for banks to lend large sums of money to people and companies for the purpose of speculation, while emerging industries are starved for credit. The Hunt Brothers' silver spree added nothing to the national economy. Under this proposal the Federal Reserve would establish firm guidelines for bank lending, increasing reserve requirements for loans made for commodity trading, real estate speculation, and conglomerate mergers in excess of $200 million in value.

(10) *A National Industrial Board.* This proposal would establish a public board to monitor all government programs that allocate capital in the economy, and recommend annually to Congress and the President changes in programs that may be retarding national economic development.

Right now, the government is unable to focus its multitude of programs on the nation's long-term economic health because it has no means of viewing their aggregate impact on particular industries. Defense procurement, for example, has an extraordinary effect on the economic development of the nation, spawning entirely new industries (synthetic rubber, antibiotics, integrated circuits, computers, communication satellites, fiber optics, and lasers, to name a few), setting the direction for their future development, enriching or impoverishing regions of the country whose economies depend on defense contracts, employing one-third of the nation's scientists and engineers, contributing over one-third of the nation's total research and development budget, and training a large number of America's skilled machinists. Other policies—tariffs, quotas, marketing orders, price supports, particularized bailouts, federal loans and loan guarantees, subsidized insurance, and special tax breaks—also affect the pattern of industrial development. Government programs that promote certain industries or businesses amount to 13.9 percent of the nation's gross national product.

But these programs have been unrelated to the goal of long-term economic growth. The government now gives $455 million in tax breaks to the timber industry but none to the semiconductor industry. It spends five times as much on research and development for commercial fisheries as it does for steel; $6 billion in loans and loan guarantees go to the shipbuilding industry, compared to $940 million to the automobile industry. Without the institutional ability to focus these programs on the competitive performance of our economy as a whole, government will inevitably let the politically strongest or most active businesses in each industry make policy. A National Industrial Board is the first step toward a more strategic, and more publicly accountable, approach to national economic policy.

Taken together, these ten proposals are a modest start to a dynamic economy. They lay the groundwork for more comprehensive adjustment policies in the future: national and regional labor boards (comprised

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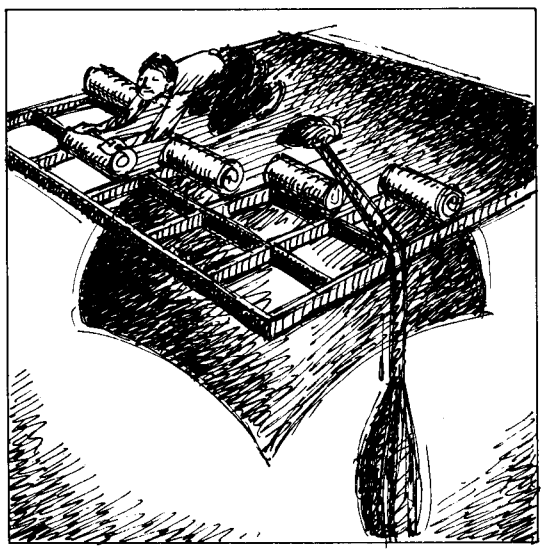
of business and labor representatives) to forecast labor shortages and organize retraining programs, tax and credit policies that favor emerging industries, antitrust policies that tie corporate diversification to retraining of the work force, and government programs to modernize mass transit and reestablish America's lead in telecommunications.

The long-term success of any such industrial policy will depend on how well it engages the collective commitment of America. For at its base, industrial policy requires a politically active and informed citizenry which trusts that the burdens and benefits of economic change will be shared equitably. That is the real Democratic, and democratic, challenge.

Can the Democrats offer both equity and excellence?

EDUCATION



By David L. Kirp

THE DEMOCRATS' conventional answer to the question, "How should federal educational policy be changed?" once boiled down to a single word: more. More dollars, more programs, a more powerful presence. These days their ambitions are more modest: holding the line on further cutbacks in federal dollars and resisting new devolutions of authority to state and local school officials. The real issue, however, is not whether the government should give out more or fewer dollars with tighter or looser strings, but how it might further the public purposes of education.

Education has always been of national interest, even if responsibility for running schools historically was lodged with states and communities. To Democrats, schooling offers a tempting instrument of reform, for it promotes social melioration through self-improvement. Providing more, and more fairly distributed, opportunities for schooling promises to boost the have-nots without much inconveniencing the haves, and thus offers the appealing prospect of cheap, painless, and gradual social change. The nineteenth-century promoters of the common school proclaimed the institution as at once the "great equalizer" of individual circumstances and the "creator of wealth undreamed of" for the nation. The progressives asserted at the beginning of this century that universal secondary school instruction would bolster the newly industrialized economy and operate as "democracy's colleges."

IT TOOK A FORMER schoolteacher turned President, Lyndon B. Johnson, to convert education from a predominantly local concern into a national cause, the ultimate weapon in the War on Poverty. "The answer for all our national problems comes down to a single word," Johnson proclaimed. "That word is education." The Democrats have held the patent on federal educational policy ever since. In 1960, half a billion dollars, less than 1 percent of the federal budget, was spent on the schools, and the Office of Education was a backwater with neither the will nor the talent to lead. The Great Society changed all that. Civil rights efforts were launched to bring racial justice to the schools. New educational programs such as Head Start and Upward Bound were designed to forestall educational failure among poor and low-achieving students. The education budget grew apace: by 1980, some $25 billion, more than 5 percent of all federal outlays, went to schools and universities. Every estimable social cause soon sprouted an education program, whether directed to energy conservation or feminism, environmentalism or alcohol abuse. The new money also came with strings attached—a thousand pages of do's and don'ts regulations in 1977, compared with just twelve pages in 1965.

Today the initiative in education, as in other social policy issues, has shifted to the Republicans. Schools now stand in relative disrepute, and those federal programs which promised so much are roundly criticized for producing so little. Opinion polls report the dimensions of change in popular attitude. A 1981 Gallup survey found half the respondents declaring that the public schools did only a fair or poor job, an astonishing turnaround from just seven years ago when two-thirds of the respondents had rated the schools as excellent or good. The federal presence, symbolized by yellow schoolbuses and paperwork jun-

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gles, had become widely unpopular.

Social scientists spread some of the bad news about schooling. Spending more money on compensatory education or Head Start was said to have had little impact on achievement. Bringing black and white students together did not appreciably lessen racial tensions or improve blacks' performance. And worse, education was suspected of being ineffective as a strategy for redistributing income and opportunity for social advancement.

Washington's bumbling was also blamed for the widely lamented decline in the quality of American schools, as if the aim of advancing equity somehow undermined the institutions' mission of securing excellence. What occurs in these seats of learning, the critics asked, where half of all high school juniors and seniors take no mathematics or science courses, where half the nation's seniors cannot identify even one of their United States senators, and where half the seniors in the Detroit public schools cannot read a newspaper? The federal government, though not responsible for many of these developments, made a tempting target and a convenient scapegoat.

The Reagan solution is a diminished national presence—and unremitting hostility toward public schooling. If the Administration has its way, the federal education budget will be pruned even more drastically next year than it was in fiscal year 1982. Support for handicapped students would be reduced by 30 percent over this two-year period, and compensatory education slashed by more than half. The Administration has urged that what support education receives be converted into general aid which states could spend as they please, and that the Department of Education, raised to Cabinet status under President Carter, be demoted. The only new initiatives in education have concerned private schools. The Administration proposes that the nonpublic sector reap the benefits of a tax credit and be free to discriminate on racial grounds without fearing adverse tax consequences. Education has been treated as just another component of the new federalism, an enterprise whose fate can be decided by mechanically applying the ideological formula that most social problems are someone else's responsibility. This Administration cares far less about its ABCs than its MXs.

WHAT ALTERNATIVE AGENDA might the Democratic Party offer? A return to the good old days won't suffice, for that approach builds on the quicksand of inflated hopes and modest performance. To join the Republicans in abandoning education makes even less sense, and misses the opportunity to reconnect the party with its broader constituency. The party should reaffirm its commitment to equity; reclaim excellence as its own concern; speak to the public purposes of education; and forge a governing partnership with states and school districts that rests more on trust and shared interests, less on coercive strategies, than in the past.

(1) *Reaffirm the commitment to equity.* Education secured its place on the national agenda in order to redress the shabby treatment historically meted out to minorities. Those who pit equity against excellence are fond of recalling the halcyon years of the 1940s and 1950s. Schools of that era did do a commendable job of educating the brightest and most highly motivated. For the rest, what was offered was dead-end instruction or worse. It's worth recalling that only a generation ago, blacks frequently attended schools designed to be separate and inferior. Slow learners were pitied as the victims of their own stupidity, receiving pablum for instruction and "life adjustment" classes for dispiriting lives. Bilingual instruction was almost nonexistent. Women interested in auto mechanics were handed a baking tin instead. Handicapped children were excluded from publicly supported schooling and deposited in residential institutions that offered only custodial care.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED, of course—in some measure due to federal intervention. No school district would dream of suspending a child who spoke Spanish in the playground, as routinely occurred in Texas schools during the 1960s, and the claims of handicapped children to decent treatment have been widely recognized. Federal aid should continue to be concentrated on the have-nots, particularly on programs that provide new access to education. The principle that all children deserve equal access to schooling still needs to be promoted and given specific meaning. The claims of newcomers—children of the Vietnamese and Cuban refugees and the Mexican migrant laborers—for a decent education also pose questions of equity. These children are the new minorities whose needs the national government should help to meet. Such efforts at inclusion do not jeopardize educational excellence.

Rights remain Washington's business, but rights need to be tempered with political and economic reality. It is necessary to ease the transition of a non-English speaker into the public school system and the society by providing a year or two of bilingual instruction; it is something different, and, in fact, counterproductive, to keep such students in segregated bilingual classrooms throughout their schooling. Handicapped children deserve an education that enables them to do for themselves things that, without instruction, others would have to do for them. But this does not necessarily imply that the schools must retain psychotherapists for the disturbed or that they must rebuild fifty-year-old schoolhouses to make them fully accessible to the wheelchair-bound, if the resources are not there.

(2) *Reclaim excellence.* To the question, "Can the schools be equal and excellent too?" the answer has to be yes. The prescription for such schools is astonishingly simple to assert, if equally hard to imple-

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ment. Ronald Edmonds's study of successful schools, Thomas Sowell's examination of exemplary black academies, and James Coleman's survey of public and private schools tell the same story: schools should be places organized for the steady and unswerving pursuit of learning. The specifics common to good schools—individual attention, regular homework, stress on disciplined study habits, principals and teachers dedicated to uniformly high standards—bespeak a more general commitment to the mission of the institution. The federal government cannot bring such places into being by wish or will, but it can celebrate accomplishment through the underused symbolic authority of the nation. National awards to outstanding teachers and successful schools would convey the message that skilled practitioners of the craft of instruction merit widespread recognition.

There is good news as well as bad to impart about education. It deserves to be shared, for the way our society feels about the education we offer the young serves as a litmus test for our confidence in ourselves. The data do not reveal miracles, but report accomplishments in which we can take pride. Even as worry about educational standards is at its zenith, the schools seem to have turned the corner. The decline in SAT scores has apparently stopped; and nine-year-olds, tested in the National Assessment of Education, demonstrate greater literacy than ever before. Blacks are also doing substantially better on these tests, evidence that the much-maligned compensatory education programs may actually be accomplishing something after all. Although some schools remain enclaves of terror, the level of school violence has declined since the mid-1970s. The nation has made high school education a reality for almost everyone (since 1940 the median education of adults age 25 or older has jumped from 8.6 years to 12.5 years) and has turned postsecondary education, once the preserve of the few, into an opportunity of which half of all high school graduates take advantage. Education is doing more—and in some ways doing it better—than ever before.

(3) *Speak to the public purposes of education.* Education has noteworthy national implications which form the core of any federal agenda. For one thing, the quality of schooling has some impact on the productivity of the work force and hence on the national economy, even if the magnitude of that impact is less than was once assumed. For another, the schools are a powerful instrument for national unity. Public schools can foster respect for democratic institutions and for free and disciplined inquiry, in a setting that makes communication among races and classes conceivable. That role for schools is now in jeopardy. Perhaps the most ominous finding in the Gallup education survey is the assertion by many respondents that only parents should pay school taxes, as if education were a private convenience and not a public good.

Encouraging economic productivity and citizenship in its fullest sense are public purposes that offer a base from which to generate national concern. Washington should not singlehandedly tackle these issues—as by adopting the 1970s panacea of career education, which, in its grandiose terms, reoriented the entire educational system to the world of work—for such an approach is badly misconceived. But the national government can set the terms of debate over these questions.

(4) *Forge a governing partnership.* Discussions of Washington's role as superschoolmaster proceed as if the only alternatives were federal control or abdication, but other strategies are both possible and more appealing. Even if the Department of Education wanted to do so, it could not run the schools from the nation's capital. Greater exertions of federal will are not likely to be beneficial because they would make compliance with federal mandates an end in itself. The education of children is too easily forgotten amidst such power struggles. A thousand blossoms and more ought to bloom in education's garden, but they are better planted at the state and especially the local level. The federal government should encourage PTAs, unions, and others to generate myriad remedies for the educational maladies that ail us.

WASHINGTON'S ROLE would be very different, but very significant, under such a scheme. Only the federal government can effectively bring together those who care about schooling and set a national agenda for education. Efforts should be made to provide technical advice and to bring together school officials with common dilemmas. Such a partnership would turn up its share of bad apples—school districts that spend federal dollars wastefully or foolishly. Education policy has made catching and punishing these spendthrifts a high priority. It makes better sense to recognize that interest in the needs of the young crosses the boundaries between levels of government. Coercion is a costly tactic. Cooperation in a renewed partnership merits at least a try.

"I hardly know which is the greater pest to society," Thomas Babington Macaulay wrote more than a century ago, "a paternal government . . . which intrudes itself into every part of human life, and which thinks it can do everything for everybody better than anybody can do anything for himself; or a careless, lounging government, which suffers grievances, such as it could at once remove, to grow and multiply, and which to all complaint and remonstrance has only one answer: 'We must let things take their own course; we must let things find their own level.'" One could easily mistake Mr. Macaulay for a contemporary analyst of the approaches of the Reagan Administration and the Democratic left. A national educational policy, attentive to concerns of equity and excellence and tied to a sense of public purpose, might just meet with Macaulay's approval—and serve the interests of a nation searching for the anchors of its own identity.

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN ON FILMS

To Disturb Us

Once in a while a corny title becomes, after seeing the film, the only one possible; it rises from corn to exactness. *Passione d'Amore* could be the title of ten thousand trashy pictures; here it fits so precisely that the phrase seems fresh. The film is about a transformation effected by the passion of love—a change much more in the beloved than in the lover. And the residual truth of that change is disturbing, haunting.

Passione d'Amore
(Putnam Square Films)

Genocide
(Simon Wiesenthal Center)

Insofar as I expected anything at all from the director, Ettore Scola, who is co-author of the screenplay, *Passione d'Amore* isn't it. Out of his prolific career, the two Scola films best known here are probably *We All Loved Each Other So Much*, a bittersweet study of modern male bonding; and *A Special Day*, about a one-day affair between a housewife (Sophia Loren) and a homosexual (Marcello Mastroianni) on a Fascist holiday in the 1930s. Scola always seemed to be feeling along the outer edges of the acceptable in a moderately skillful, tamely daring way. This time, with a script based on a nineteenth-century story called "Fosca" by Iginio Ugo Tarchetti, he has gone further.

In 1862 an Italian cavalry captain is having an affair with a beautiful married woman in Milan. (A narrator's opening comments imply that the whole film is a flashback.) It's a period when romanticism, which was dominating all European art, was also, as Marvin Carlson reminds us, interwoven with politics in Italy—therefore with military life. The beginning suggests Visconti and *Senso*, but the picture soon moves into the shadowy outer edges of romanticism, into Brontë and E. T. A. Hoffmann country. The young captain is transferred to a military station in the mountains where he takes his meals in the colonel's house with a few other selected officers and where he soon learns about the colonel's cousin who lives upstairs, a highly neurotic woman who rarely appears though a place is always set for her. Her screams from upstairs are often heard, and servants rush up to care for her; but neither the colonel nor the other officers pay great attention. The fits are expected.

The captain visits his beautiful mistress on occasional leaves. Then at last he and the sequestered cousin meet. We see her feet coming down the stairs, and the atmosphere, the suspense, even the very period of the story, lead us to expect some sort of pale, delicate Lucia di Lammermoor figure. Fosca, the cousin, is homely, even ugly: with a big beaked nose, a wide toothy mouth, and a sickly aura. This reversal of conventional expectation is first of all a narrative shock. Before we begin to consider the people as people, we wonder immediately what kind of *story* this is going to be. Where will it lead? How can it end?

What happens thereafter can hardly be called reversals: they are consequences—psychological, emotional, humane. Fosca falls in love with the captain, besieges him, behaves as if he were betraying a professed love for her (when he has only been trying to offend her as little as possible), begs for a touch, a caress. Her health, never good, worsens; the regimental doctor believes that she will die unless, as he tells the captain, the young man pays her a nocturnal visit. The captain refuses, then is persuaded. In the fact that he is finally persuaded, reluctant though he is, lies the core of the story.

Eventually, this visit and further encounters alter his relation with his beautiful Milanese mistress and with the unbeautiful Fosca. The latter's very passion alters him, compelled as he is by circumstances to stay within reach of its heat. She begins to stir feelings in him other than the initial repulsion, more than the compassion that touches the repulsion, more than the contradictory blend of the two. The film ends with the narrator whom we heard at the start: it's the captain himself, older, now out of uniform, seedy, finishing his tale of the change in his life wrought by that unlovely woman's passion.

"Even if we are often led to desire through the sense of beauty, can you say that the beautiful is what we desire?" So asks Richard Rowan in Joyce's play *Exiles*, and his friend Robert Hand begs off replying for fear of a headache. No begging off in Scola's film: the question persists. We prattle about love as more than skin-deep, as being ultimately unconnected with beauty, or else why would we not love every and any beautiful person? We talk about love as affined with the soul, as surpassing time and distance and (some believe) death. What have any of these beliefs to do with that hypothetical extra inch on the end of Cleopatra's nose that would have changed the course of history? The captain in this film is "imprisoned" with a woman to whom he does not immediately respond, to whom very few males could conceivably respond. If he could flee, he certainly would, but confined

FILMS WORTH SEEING

Chariots of Fire. Warm, intelligent, excellently acted. Social drama based on actual story of two British Olympic runners, 1924.

My Dinner With André. You may not believe beforehand that table-talk between an avant-garde theater director and a playwright—ranging far from the theater—could be so continuously interesting.

Reds. All the "exposé" of factual omission and dramatic license doesn't affect the excitement of this flawed but stirring film about John Reed and Louise Bryant. The essence remains true: American romance vs. European political hardheadedness.

Victor/Victoria. Blake Edwards directed and based his script on an old German comedy. Result: a witty, fast farce about transvestism and homosexuality in Paris, 1934.

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with that woman and her passion for him, he is forced to see and feel differently. His "sense of beauty" led him to desire his Milanese mistress, but is the beautiful all that can be desired? The passion of Fosca's love is transformative for him, becomes almost a kind of spiritual epiphany. It is not so superficial a matter as redefining beauty, as seeing "worth" beneath the surface; the drama becomes a metamorphosis of all values, a redeployment of self. In a way the transformation disaffiliates him from the world by disconnecting him with its values that he used to share.

I don't know Tarchetti's story, but presumably he was an explorer, not a moralist, and that's how Scola handles the material: not as a tract against the vanity of physical beauty but as an exploration of sensibility in the protagonist.

A FEW POINTS in the filmmaking raise questions. Sequence by sequence the film is composed fluently, but between sequences there are frequent bumps: the effect (though it's not true) is the changing of reels and refocusing. And three French actors were used for important roles in this Italian film. International casting is hardly new: it usually has something to do with international financing and tax regulations, which may be the case here, but it's not always helpful to the film. Bernard Giraudeau (the captain), Jean-Louis Trintignant (the doctor), and Bernard Blier (a gourmand fellow-officer) are all good actors but are all obviously dubbed. The married beauty is Laura Antonelli. Massimo Girotti, whom I saw again just the other day as Valli's cousin in *Senso* and whom I would welcome in almost every Italian film, is solid as the colonel. The fact that the colonel is so handsome—Girotti is maturing well—helps the contrast with his cousin. She is played by Valeria D'Obici, an actress new to me, who has (I've read) a puttied nose in the film. Hers is of course the key performance. The best tribute one can pay her—and she deserves much tribute—is highly subjective, much more subjective than usual: without mitigation, she creates a woman whose affection is at first frightening to a male viewer, whose approach makes the skin sweat, and whose persistence—in its pain and humility and self-humiliation—finally begins to shame and discomfort. For one male viewer at least, D'Obici's performance had something of the

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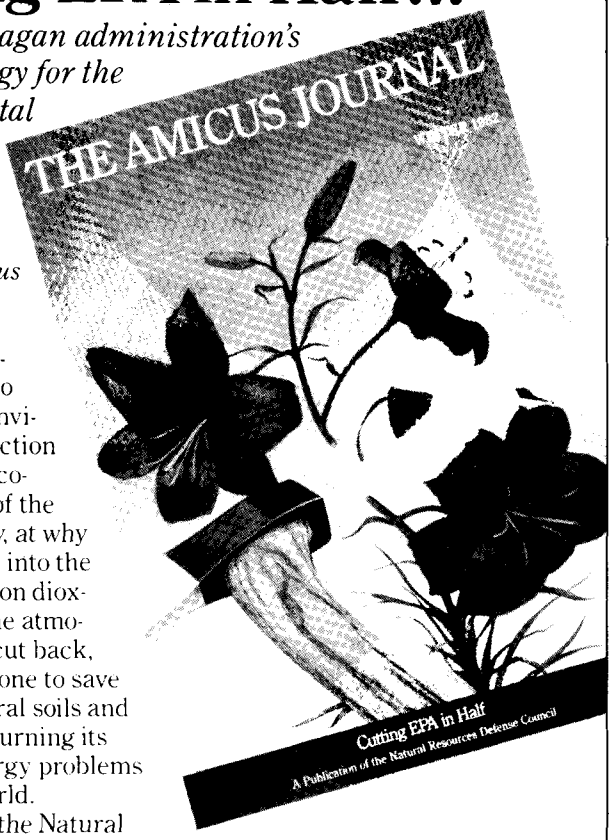

In the current issue, *The Amicus Journal* takes a close look at the Reagan administration's efforts to dismantle the Environmental Protection Agency, at the economic collapse of the nuclear industry, at why federal research into the question of carbon dioxide buildup in the atmosphere is being cut back, at what can be done to save prime agricultural soils and why the U.S. is turning its back on the energy problems of the Third World.

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same effect as it had on the captain.

Genocide is an 87-minute documentary about the Holocaust, co-produced by the Simon Wiesenthal Center and Arnold Schwartzman, directed by the latter. It opens with Wiesenthal speaking to us outside the wall of the Mauthausen camp where he and his wife were once imprisoned, and it ends with Wiesenthal kissing the Wall in Jerusalem. There's a brief appendix of recent anti-Semitic actions and facts which, for me, don't document the "recurrence" of anti-Semitism but its persistence. Who could possibly have believed that world knowledge of the Final Solution would completely eliminate anti-Semitism in the world?

Schwartzman has done a competent job and has taken particularly good advantage of such devices as a split screen (at times) and some paintings done for the film. Two narrators are used, Elizabeth Taylor and Orson Welles. Taylor occasionally "acts" a bit much when she reads letters and journals but is mostly straightforward and affecting. Grant to Welles his perennial speech defect: he cannot pronounce "z." ("Jews" always comes out "juice.") Nonetheless he outdoes himself. It's the most engaged and powerful Welles reading that I've heard in years.

Almost all the footage has been seen in previous documentaries on this subject, though here it has sometimes been expanded to fit a wider screen. In fact, the size of the image varies often through the film, to good effect.

But because of the subject, I have no interest in "ranking" *Genocide* as against previous documentaries on the Holocaust, so the review ends here.

THE AMERICAN WAR

Reflections on the Civil War
by Bruce Catton

(Doubleday, 272 pp., $15.95)

Shadows of the Storm
The Image of War: 1861-5, Volume I
edited by William C. Davis

(Doubleday, 464 pp., $35)

What makes the Civil War seem so far away? The 1860s mean little more to the British, the French, or the Germans than the adjacent decades—a time when life was slower, great-grandparents were alive, people poorer, kings more important, railways a novelty. The decade lacks focus for Europeans, belonging to the recent past but not really to history, which begins with Napoleon and goes backward from him, nor to experience, which starts with World War II (or World War I, depending on what Daddy did in the Great War) and pervades the national consciousness. But for Americans the 1860s have a distant, somehow Arthurian, shimmer of romance and tragedy; the decade possesses an almost timeless otherness which makes the war seem more remote than the earlier, but more purposeful and therefore comprehensible, Revolutionary War.

Part of the explanation is that there is a Civil War industry, of which both these books are, in the best possible sense, products. The war, like steam trains and stick-and-string airplanes, is the subject of an enthusiasm, whose fans require large and regular doses of information about it, detail being more important than novelty. Like the followers of the Beatles in their great days, who had a fixed and highly idealized view of the character of John, Paul, George, and Ringo but liked to be reminded nonetheless that John was the clever one, Paul the artist, George the quiet one, and Ringo the clown, Civil War buffs relish repeated reminders of the genius of Stonewall Jackson, the horrors of the Wilderness, and the iniquities of the Andersonville prison camp authorities. They do not, on the whole, want reinterpretation, which blurs and shifts the ingredients of a story now told and retold often enough to enfold its listeners in the reassuring repetitiveness of a bedtime tale. Recently discovered soldiers' sketchbooks, one of which provides the illustrations for Bruce Catton's edited reflections, or resurrected contemporary photographs, the substance of *Shadows of the Storm*, are enormously appreciated. Economic or political revisionist studies, representing the outcome of the war as predetermined or its motivation as misjudged, are neglected or rejected. They spoil the fun, because they disrupt the image in the object glass, which is expected to return to the observer exactly what he wants to see whenever he gazes into the eyepiece.

But there is, nevertheless, a genuine timelessness about the Civil War which its chroniclers are right to communicate, even though they may not always realize what it is they are doing. The American 1860s were timeless because nothing in the history of the country before or since, in that of any other country, resembles them. The Revolution, a rebellion by European settlers, garbed as Europeans, housed as Europeans, and thinking as Europeans (if a little ahead of them), has its counterpart in the rebellions of the Latin Americans against Spain thirty years later. America's later military upheavals were either imperialist adventures of a European sort or interventions in initially European wars. The Civil War was America's one and only wholly American war. But it was also one curiously detached moment of time, suspended between the past and the future. The old European America was about to pass away in the 1860s, a new American America to be ushered in. The Civil War, by ensuring that the territory of the Union would be open without restriction to trade and settlement, naturally helped to bring that new America into being. But it nevertheless coincided with, rather than precipitated, the transition.

What evidence for so sweeping a statement? Some of it is conveyed in the very remarkable collection of photographs the editors of the National Historical Society have assembled between the covers of *Shadows of the Storm*. All contemporary, and many never before published, those in this volume (the first in a series intended to depict the whole course of the war) show North

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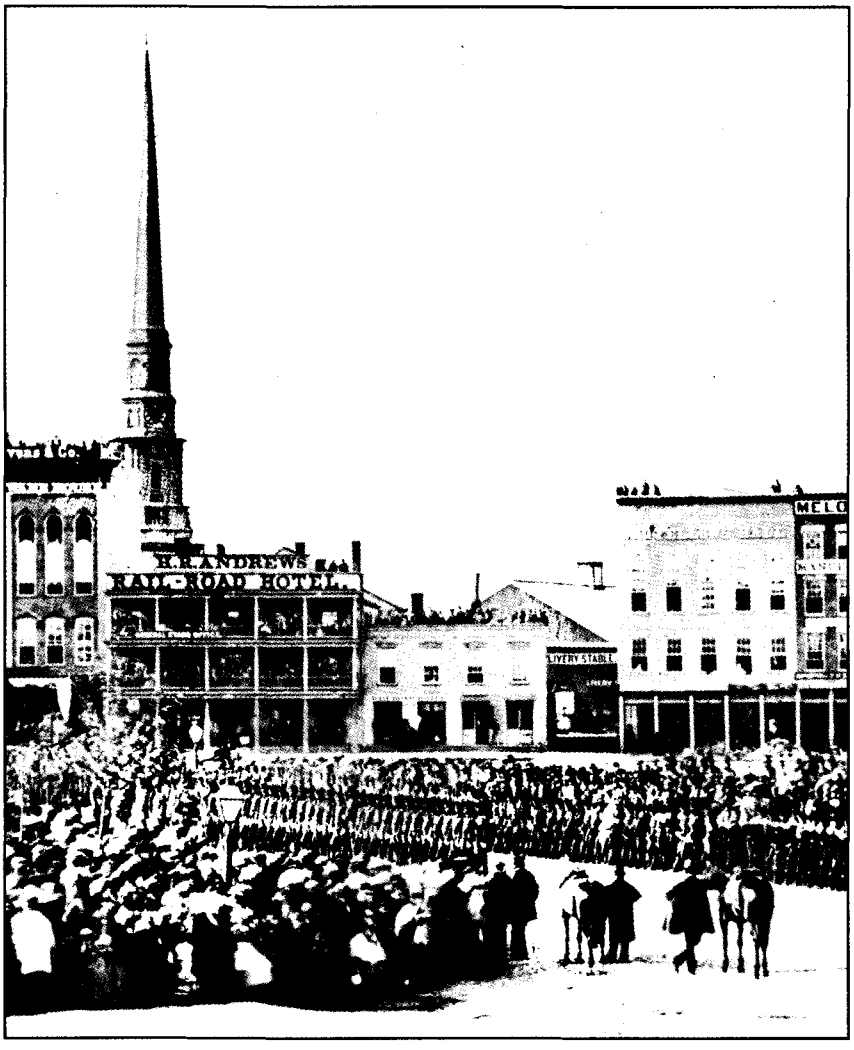
and South mobilizing for the conflict. And what they reveal above all is the face of a society inventing a war from the basement upward. Unlike any European country, America altogether lacked the mechanisms to wage war. The means—manpower, industry, money—were already present in abundance. But the knowledge to use them was almost entirely lacking. The regular army was then only sixteen thousand strong, the militias—outside the Atlantic coast of the South, where they played an important social role—hopelessly unmilitary. The result was that the thousands of Americans who badly wanted to fight had first of all to teach themselves what it meant to be a soldier. And they concentrated, to begin with, on getting appearances right. And what appearances! Zouaves we know, those all-American replicas of the French Army's North African irregulars, gaitered, baggy-trousered, and crowned with a betasseled fez. But are we familiar with Kentucky Grenadier Guardsmen, bowed under bearskin caps which would overtop those on the sentries outside Buckingham Palace? Overnight officers looking like the young Tolstoy in Russian shakos and fur overcoats? New York militia in the frock coats and epaulets of Louis Napoleon's infantry? Cavalrymen in the "liberal" hat—that wide-brimmed style affected by Kossuth, the Hungarian nationalist, which would eventually pass into folklore as the cowboy Stetson? Deeply serious, with a seriousness only partly imposed by the long exposure time of the early camera, the wearers of all this extraordinary apparel stare out at us from the pages, poster images for the first and only performance of war as mass national theater.

The first battle of the war actually attracted an audience. Bull Run, fought on a Sunday within a carriage drive of Washington, brought the citizens out in throngs, picnic lunches in their baskets, to watch cannon smoke and cavalry charge from the nearby hillsides. A few hours of gunfire taught the players that war was not make-believe, and those who survived—and continued in service—soon developed an old-soldier realism about the grandeurs and miseries of their business which European armies had always known. But the oddity about the Bull Run army, the Union one, was that many of its soldiers did not continue to serve. Having enlisted for ninety days only, they "mustered out," in many cases as soon as the battle was over. Others, enlisted later for what seemed the more realistic term of three years, could still be mustered out in mid-war. There is a photograph here of the 45th Massachusetts about to depart on July 7, 1863, with nearly two years' fighting still to run. To Europeans, inured to conscription and the power of the state, the Civil War must have seemed strange indeed, if men could stand on their legal rights in the cannon's mouth. By then conscription had, of course, come to America, but it had inspired such loathing and resistance that it produced in practice quite insignificant numbers of men for the armies. Right to the end, the war was something fought by those who chose to fight rather than stay home or go West.



THE FIRST MICHIGAN INFANTRY (DETROIT, MAY 1, 1861)
BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

Going West they were already doing in large numbers. Throughout the 1850s immigrants had been entering America at the rate of a quarter-million a year, either displacing others toward the frontier or going directly themselves. In the process they were changing the appearance of the American town, urging it toward that total un-Europeanness it displays today. As so many of these photographs reveal, New York, Philadelphia, and the other big cities of the North were still in 1861 recognizable sisters to London and Paris, with decorous houses of regular height lining tree-planted streets. The same is even truer of the small towns of the countryside, which in architectural style and layout resemble those of East Anglia today. But Detroit, photographed in 1861 at the presentation of colors to the First Michigan Infantry, is already pushing skyward; warehouses and hotels cluster around the railroad station which brings it life and will soon carry wealth back to devastate the Georgian facades of the Atlantic coast.

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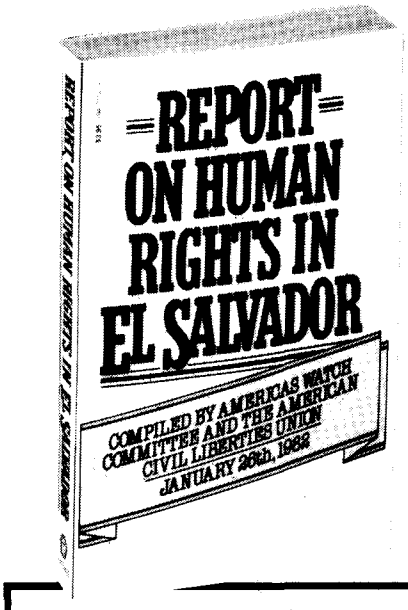
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America was the first country—the Soviet Union is now bent on imitating her—to obliterate its own architectural history, producing in the process a new way of urban life, but causing a pang nevertheless to those who cannot help regretting the lost charm of Victorian Broadway or of Federalist State Street. Only Charleston, South Carolina, by the evidence of these photographs, has actually improved in looks since 1861, by its transformation from a working cotton town to a garden city.

The skyscraper, the superhighway, the disposable shopfront, the infinitely variable street facade all were implicit in the America of a century ago; they were bound to emerge in a country so bounteously endowed with space, fertile soil, and mineral wealth. The trend was already discernible to anyone who cared to look. Between 1840 and 1860 the journey time between New York and Chicago had been reduced from three weeks to two days. Coal, hewn from the valleys of West Virginia, fueled the trip. Soon gasoline, pumped from Oil Creek, Pennsylvania, also caught here in an early daguerreotype, would further shorten it. It is delightful to catch the moment before the great revolution began, when America still looked at the world through sash windows, sheltered from the storms of winter behind white clapboard, aped European fashions in crinoline and frock coats, and earnestly searched the pages of French and English manuals for instruction in the art of soldiering. The pity is that they learned the trick. Another ten or twenty years of havering over the constitutional issue and Europe's huddled masses would have made slavery irrelevant. Little wonder that the Civil War has become a hobby. The truth is that it was something like that from beginning to end—a gigantic masculine Fourth of July parade, turkey shoot, cook-out which somehow got out of hand. Made good pictures though.

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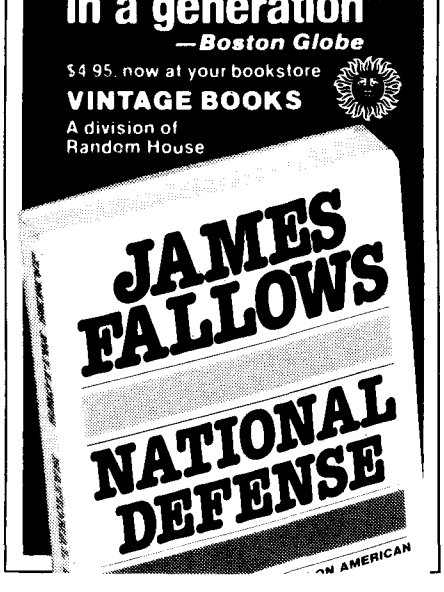

POLITICAL PASSIVITY

Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley by John Gaventa

(University of Illinois Press, 283 pp., $15)

This is a perspicacious book by a remarkable young man. It has been decorated with awards, including a prize from the American Political Science Association as the best book of the year on government, politics, or international relations. John Gaventa, who is on the staff of the Highlander Research and Education Center, has received one of the MacArthur Foundation's prestigious five-year grants, awarded to distinguished writers and thinkers to pursue their work.

Like Sherlock Holmes, who wondered why the dog did not bark, Gaventa wants to know why what might reasonably be expected to happen does not. Why do discontented citizens *not* raise their voices in protest? At an extreme, why in an ostensible democracy like ours do people who are reduced to poverty and effectively deprived of legal rights collapse into quiescence rather than rise in rebellion? Of a visit with a coal miner, Gaventa writes: "I had read the theories of democracy, about how victims of injustice in an 'open system' are free to take action upon their concerns, about how conflicts emerge and are resolved . . . ." But when Gaventa explained to the miner how he might move against a long-standing inequity, he "showed no particular interest." And it was not that he was apathetic or ignorant. Something else was at work.

The phenomenon of political quiescence appears throughout society. If we could grasp it better, we could understand the relative passivity of the American public in the face of President Reagan's attempts to dismantle a structure of reforms which that same public gave evidence of supporting earlier.

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Gaventa examines in some detail the more extreme case of severely distressed people in Appalachia. Their monumental silence is eerie. It is unnatural. It calls for an explanation.

The ordinary explanation of political quiescence is apathy and ignorance. The explanation has been refined, at the hands of economists, into a justification. We all must calculate, so the argument goes. We weigh what we know about the possible gains of action against what we know about the cost. Redress of grievance turns out to be costly, and effecting a change in public policy usually impossibly expensive. So the quiescent citizen, even if he is abused, has made a rational choice. Given what he knows, he is in equilibrium. In a sense, he is in the best of all possible worlds, having nicely balanced the prospective gains against the costs to discover that inaction is optimal.

Neither the crude explanation that refers to apathy and ignorance nor the economist's formally correct but miserly explanation does justice to the complexity of the social world. Both explanations look to characteristics of the citizen himself—his preferences, his willingness or unwillingness to bear risk, his capacity to act, his knowledge of his options, and his frequent disinclination to exert himself. These conventional explanations of quiescence begin with the citizen postulated to be as he is: not greatly interested in politics, busy pursuing other interests, inexpert in public affairs, and perhaps realistic about the difficulty of achieving anything significant with his limited political resources. This is where these explanations begin; and, once such points have been made, this is where they end. For the points seem so compelling that nothing more needs to be said.

THESE EXPLANATIONS underplay—indeed often completely miss—the rest of the story, which Gaventa gives us with lively, pertinent, and compelling evidence. There is no biological imprint dictating that citizens are politically apathetic; they *learn* to be politically passive. They learn that political change is difficult to achieve and often dangerous to attempt. They learn that others stand ready to block their efforts to secure gains when they venture beyond voting and other nonthreatening forms of participation. And they learn to be ignorant. They read, hear, and are taught political misinformation; other information is often hidden or only circulated inconspicuously.

We cannot, therefore, explain political behavior by beginning with citizens as they are. We must first understand that the political system is a principle determinant of what they have become. Citizens act as they do because they have learned from their experience within the political and social system what they can and cannot accomplish, as well as what it costs to try.

The gentle word "learning" is not Gaventa's, and the process that he describes is not a gentle process. People learn something when they are fired because they joined a union, when local government officials decide issues before rather than after legally required public hearings, when the organizations with which they deal deny them necessary information for making a case, when a dissident presidential candidate in the mine workers' union is murdered. An overriding lesson that Gaventa's Appalachians learned is that

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every venture into political activism will be countered by well-financed opponents who, at the end of a struggle, will once again prevail.

Who are the teachers? Who exercises the power that teaches ordinary citizens to subside into political quiescence? In Gaventa's case, it was the executives of the coal companies in the valley he studied. The local government officials who cooperated with coal company executives played a part, too. So did the top leadership and associated cadres of local leaders in the United Mine Workers. And state and federal officials are implicated as well. Although some officials teach by what they do, others teach by what they fail to do. Grass-roots citizen action requires cooperation from key officials, and they are sometimes most powerful when they refuse to budge.

Political passivity, Gaventa argues, is not an effect of ignorance and apathy. It is a consequence of power exercised in such a way as to teach people to withdraw from politics. Gaventa makes the case in detail for Appalachia, but he formulates his analysis to apply to wherever passivity is to be found in society—which means, in varying degree, everywhere. In its most general form, Gaventa's conclusion is that democracy is not very democratic.

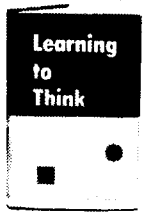
The bearing of all this on the discipline of political science is much on Gaventa's mind. "I began to wonder," he writes, "if I would not do better to turn my traditional political science around." Consulting the discipline's literature on power, he found that most discussions focus on the "first dimension" of power, addressing the question, who prevails over whom in overt conflict over explicit issues? He also found a dissenting intellectual current concerned with a "second dimension"—that is, the capacity to keep issues off the political agenda. He sees himself as joining other political scientists in investigating a third dimension of power: "the means through which power influences, shapes or determines conceptions of the necessities, possibilities, and strategies of challenge in situations of latent conflict."

In social theory, as everywhere else, everything valuable is bought at a cost. When political scientists first attempted two and three decades ago to bring the concept of power down out of the clouds by asking what A does to B in his identifiable attempts to control B, they greatly clarified the subject, in ways that have proved productive for the literature of the discipline generally. But the preoccupation with a dyadic relation—a simple relation between A and B—turned political science away from the multitude of other subtleties of power relations, in which dozens or even millions of people exercise influence and control. Recent studies such as Gaventa's and others' are remedying that inattention but, not surprisingly, at a cost in conceptual precision. The challenge that awaits Gaventa, or any other political scientist, is to unite all three dimensions of power (and perhaps others yet to be identified), preserving the conceptual precision that characterizes discussions of the first dimension and the empirical subtlety Gaventa displays in his study of the third.

CHARLES E. LINDBLOM

Charles E. Lindblom is the author of *Politics and Markets: The World's Political-Economic Systems* (Basic Books).

LEARNING TO THINK



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THE IMAGINATION OF DISGUST

Flaws in the Glass
by Patrick White

(Viking, 260 pp., $14.95)

There's a section in Patrick White's autobiography describing a trip through Greece that the author and his lifelong companion undertook in middle age. Well, maybe "undertook" is not quite the word. "Endured" is more like it. Or even, "lacerated themselves with." Surely no ticket money was ever more miserably spent than on this journey through the smell of excrement, to a country where an unflushable French letter floats in the toilet and a tin of Spam is a gourmet delight compared to the local cuisine. The saints in the churches are "blotched, pimpled, scrofulous," the sheets are damp and gray, the bedroom window overlooks a reeking urinal, and no boat trip is without its measure of vomit.

But it's not all unrelieved squalor. There's more, and worse. There's "obvious beauty," which sends the author scuttling to the nearest refuge. So, all right, he doesn't like squalor and he

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doesn't like obvious beauty. Maybe he's holding out for more creature comforts? No, the "usual stereotype Greek tourist hotel" strikes him as equally unsatisfactory. And if you think it's sophistication he's after, forget it. No place draws more scorn than Molyvos, a

> victim of international intellectuals and artists. They return year after year, to paint, write, and discuss the reasons why their marriages should break up, even type poems to the marriage which has broken that morning. We ran away from Molyvos.

The section on his travels is only a small part of *Flaws in the Glass*, but I've mentioned it first because it's the clearest demonstration of a quality that makes this whole book profoundly unsettling. On the one hand, an observant and discerning novelist is obviously at work here, noting every detail, bringing alive the sights and smells and the comic drama of foreign travel. Certainly no one wants him to avert his gaze from the truth, or to duplicate the pretty prose of travel agents' brochures.

ON THE OTHER hand, the tone is so unremittingly picky and discontented, so curmudgeonly, so downright contemptuous, that we pause in midsnicker to wonder why he devoted paper to such an experience—not only the experience of his trip but of his life itself, which seems largely to have been spent among small-minded, disagreeable people he would rather not have known.

There are his parents, for starters—a well-off couple keeping up appearances in ultraconservative Australia. "I resented their capacity for boring me," Patrick White tells us. Of his mother, he says, "I admired rather than loved" her; and of his father, "I could not admire Dick enough to love him." Poor parents; it sounds like a no-win situation. Yet you have to smile at his apt descriptions of " 'Bird' and 'Dicky,' the Ideal Couple"; and of his sporty sister Sue, who once afforded him the sight of "a flea from one of the dogs hopping through an embroidered eyelet in her dress as we sat side by side on the sofa."

A nanny and a few stray adults earn his affectionate mention, but for the most part, Patrick White as a child seems to have felt like a foreigner in his own home. He was sent to boarding school in England—a devastatingly lonely experience—and returned to Australia with an English accent that set him even further apart. His strong-willed mother, hoping for "Sunday lunch at the Royal Sydney Golf Club with a daughter-in-law and grandchildren," presented him with a string of eligible young ladies, but he resisted. In discussing his homosexuality, he is open and cheerful; he sees it as a kind of bonus, something that adds flexibility to his artistic viewpoint. (It's interesting that in considering what he would have been like as a heterosexual, he envisions himself not only as husband and father, but then in turn as wife and mother.) Certainly he was lucky in finding, relatively early, a relationship more lasting than many conventional marriages. His companion, Manoly Lascaris, is almost the only person of whom he speaks with unmitigated fondness.

On his novels there's very little—just a mention, here and there, of some period in his life when he was working on such-and-such; or of some real-life acquaintance who contributed traits to a certain fictional character. His most arresting comment on himself as a writer may be the following:

> I never re-read my books once I have corrected the proof, but if for some specific reason I have to open one and glance at a paragraph or two, I am struck by an element which must have got into them while I was under hypnosis. On one level certainly, there is a recognisable collage of personal experience, on another, little of the self I know. This unknown is the man the interviewers, the visiting professors, the thesis writers expect to find, and because I am unable to produce him I have given up receiving them. I don't want to pretend to be me, as the poet Philip Larkin has said of himself in similar situations.

What emerges most clearly from *Flaws in the Glass* is that Patrick White the man has the eye and the wit of Patrick White the novelist but not the richness of spirit. He can delight us with his description of the "narrow, almost fleshless, borzoi skull" of a tormenting classmate; or of a racehorse trainer's "spongy, respectful upper lip, very obviously shaven for our visit"; or of the kitchenful of cats who "in the palmy era before the war would spill out and lie in skeins or heaps on the tessellated approach from the pavement to the front door." He can make us laugh with a sentence

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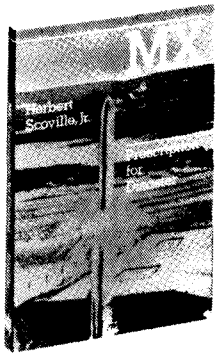

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like "English sex shivered and plopped remorsefully like a gas fire on its way out." But he has an odd way of dashing past a good deal of his life with a confusing clutter of names and superficialities. At times the book reads like mere jottings to himself, intended to prod his own memory, offering the reader little real entry.

Also, there's a one-sidedness here that no self-respecting novelist would have stood for. Poor Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip—she of the "high-pitched, cold, china voice" and he "a Glücksberg bully apeing the British in his tweedy hacking jacket"! When Patrick White was introduced to them, the Queen made no mention of his novels and the Prince spent all his time talking to a noted swimmer. It doesn't occur to Patrick White that this may have been nothing more than the natural shyness of nonintellectuals in the face of intellectuals. Nor does he show the slightest pang of sympathy—or even the grace of a glance in some other direction—when the ladies among the guests "attempted" curtsies. "The refrigerator-wife almost keeled over and had to be pulled back into balance."

Unkind, ungenerous, unforgiving. "I have to admit to a bitter nature," he tells us. And, "The ideal Australian . . . was . . . always, I realize, a landscape without figures." Or this, when a Greek tourism film reminds him of his trip:

> I tell myself I must not hate human beings. I try to conjure up my vision of an actual landscape and the inhabitants to whom it belongs. But it is hard for visions to survive in the plastic present, as mascara trickles from smeared eyes and blown-up lips gorge themselves on mass-produced food. There comes a moment when a stream of semi-digested eggplant, mincemeat, and tomato is vomited across the screen of memory in a sour splurge.

Patrick White hasn't done himself any favors in writing *Flaws in the Glass*. That's not to say, though, that it should have been left unwritten. After all, it is the product of a man with enormous talent, a novelist who has created brilliant scenes and powerful characters; and it gives us a surprising insight into the source of such creations.

A contemporary poet once remarked that any real writer has to have had rheumatic fever in his childhood. What he meant, of course, was that something should have set the writer slightly apart from his surroundings. Patrick White's version of rheumatic fever is his distaste for his fellow humans. It may be a highly unlikable trait, but we ought to accept it graciously. It has given him his distance. It has allowed him to view the world with that wary, obsessive, unblinking alertness that formed his memorable novels.

ANNE TYLER

LONELY NOMADS

Oh What a Paradise It Seems by John Cheever

(Knopf, 100 pp., $10)

"The constants that I look for," John Cheever wrote in the introduction to his collected stories in 1978,

> are a love of light and a determination to trace some moral chain of being. Calvin played no part at all in my religious education, but his presence seemed to abide in the barns of my childhood and to have left me with some undue bitterness.

The religious outlines of Cheever's moral world stand out clearly now, bounding the suburban lawns and homesick heroes of the fiction he has been writing for four decades. As the title of his last volume of selected stories, *The World of Apples* (1974), suggests, Cheever's short fiction has portrayed a fallen world, where man's body daily betrays his spirit. In his last novel, *Falconer* (1977), he followed a man accused of fratricide into the hell of prison. Now Cheever is in pursuit of paradise. And with his new novella, *Oh What a Paradise It Seems*, he takes his place in a long and illustrious line of writers whose imagi-

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nations have lost energy, light, and warmth as they try to map the realm of redemption.

"When I was younger, I could run all over the pasture and come back," Cheever recalled in an interview after *Falconer* appeared. "Now I seem to be going much more directly to what I have to say." It's not uncommon that artists, after gamboling among images for a time, stride more purposefully toward statements of their underlying vision. For years now, "pungency, diversity, color, and nostalgia"—those virtues Cheever bestowed upon Asa Bascombe, the poet protagonist of his masterful story, "The World of Apples"—have been the vigorous qualities prized in his own work as well. Like Asa Bascombe, Cheever has in rare moments "divined the voice of moral beauty in a rain wind"; and all along, he has faithfully recorded the mundane facts of our morally ambiguous, often intractable world—barbecue grills, radios, relatives, genitals, and other awkward encumbrances. In *Oh What a Paradise It Seems*, this dualistic world of facts and truths, matter and spirit, is suddenly more starkly lit than ever before—the search for spiritual salvation more insistent, material corruption more pervasive. The renowned pungency, diversity, and color of Cheever's writing seem to have faded somewhat; and the nostalgia, ever-present in his narratives about his wandering race, has lost some of its humane, lyric tone and echoes more remotely now.

THE NARRATOR of this eerie novella is looking back, as Cheever's narrators usually do, but this time he's not our contemporary taking us back with him to our common recent past—the last several decades of the century. Instead, the narrative voice emanates from the future, observing the close of this second millennium from a distant, and apparently idyllic, vantage point beyond us. The figure in the foreground of the scene is Lemuel Sears as he skates up and down the black ice of Beasley's Pond late one January afternoon. "An old man . . . but not infirm," Sears is uneasily beginning to face the facts of approaching old age. But, fleet and graceful on the smooth pond surface, he feels his spirit suddenly braced by "a sense of homecoming. At long last, at the end of a cold, long journey, he was returning to a place where his name was known and loved and lamps

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burned in the rooms and fires in the hearth." Sears's sense of spiritual comfort is rudely obliterated two weeks later when he again collects his skates and takes the train from his New York City apartment to the village of Janice, the site of Beasley's Pond, only to find the icy retreat in the process of being turned into the town dump. But shortly after that disappointment, Sears's spirit is roused again, this time by the sight of a woman in line at a bank, who also evokes homing instincts in him: "he thought that perhaps it was nostalgia that made her countenance such a forceful experience for him."

For all the familiar Cheever soulfulness with which he is endowed, however, Sears is hardly more than a shadow after the mere ten pages it has taken to set him off on his spiritual journey back toward love of nature and woman. As the spare plot proceeds, it's clear the narrator is more interested in surveying a culture and an allegorical landscape than in probing his main character. "Here was the discharge of a society that was inclined to nomadism without having lessened its passion for portables," the narrator comments and then elaborates:

> Most wandering people evolve a culture of tents and saddles and migratory herds, but here was a wandering people with a passion for gigantic bedsteads and massive refrigerators. It was a clash between their mobility—their driftingness—and their love of permanence that had discharged its chaos into Beasley's Pond.

Like the water, the land has changed beyond recognition; farms have been paved over by "that highway of merchandising that reaches across the continent," lane upon lane of cars blurring by, row upon row of fried-food places serving up "the food for spiritual vagrants." It was "as if a truly adventurous people had made a wrong turning and stumbled into a gypsy culture"; the country presents "a landscape, a people . . . who had lost the sense of a harvest." The anthropological imagery abounds, documenting the "barbarity and nomadism" of a contaminated civilization.

In this habitat, Lemuel Sears is an interesting specimen rather than a compelling character. The saga of his rejuvenating efforts to purify a dirty pond and pollute a pretty woman is a schematic spiritual progress, not an absorbing sentimental journey. Cheever's prose throughout is flatter, less highly polished and graceful than in the past. He is aiming, evidently, to create a different fictional fabric, strands of which have appeared in his more recent work; its cut is more contemporary and cool, with less of the often quaintly elegant style of old.

Thus Sears's love affair is farcical fantasy rather than psychologically compelling romance, reminiscent of the unlikely amorous adventures in "Artemis the Honest Well-Digger," one of Cheever's later stories. Renée, Sears's enigmatic amour, has soft lips and secrets, and next to no other notable qualities; the elevator man in her building, with whom Sears also has a brief, bizarre affair, is a phantom presence as well. Similarly, Sears's ecological mission—ostensibly a traditional suspense story, crude all-American despoilers versus poetic purifiers—turns out to be an occasion for surrealistic social satire and meditations on the state of the planet. Throughout, Cheever's depiction of a contaminated country is successfully alienating, in fact often all too dispiriting. But his protagonist never becomes a soul lit from within by a memory of love, by a yearning for some past bliss of belonging; Sears is not that soft-hearted but stalwart character of classic Cheever fiction, whom we may know all too well now but miss nonetheless.

THERE ARE TWO such souls, though, who play subordinate roles. And in their presence, Cheever's prose and imagination are inspired. He presents visions of wandering beings here on earth that are far more memorable than either his catalog of a contaminated hell or his paeon to a pure, natural paradise. One soul is Horace Chisholm, the environmentalist enlisted to fight for Beasley's Pond, who is graced with this rumination:

> He felt so lonely that when the car ahead of him signaled for an exit he felt as if he had been touched tenderly on the shoulder by some stranger in some place like a crowded airport, and he wanted to put on his parking lights or signal back in some way as strangers who are traveling sometimes touch one another although they will never, ever meet again. In a lonely fantasy of nomadism he imagined a world where men and women communicated with one another mostly by signal lights and where he proposed marriage to some stranger because she turned on her parking lights an hour before dusk, disclosing a supple and romantic nature.

The other soul is Betsy Logan, a Janice housewife who in the end surreptitiously saves the pond. Her unexpectedly evocative recollection after an afternoon at the beach summons up another scene of nomads in a technological nether region:

> . . . she remembered watching on TV when an astronaut went into space. After

THE CHANGELING

A shoe left out in the rain, and what's worse
My shoe. Were you playing with it
As a child would, tieing a string to the laces,
Tossing it in the tree to knock the ball down?
Had it been yours you'd have remembered it.
Just the kind of forgetfulness that proves,
If proof is needed, that the world is fallen.
But your leaving the windows open
In my new car and the top down
Was more deliberate.
Blotches on the leather seats,
Rug rot, fog in the gas gauge,
All this you've planned to spoil my pride
In ownership, to make me give in
And drive you to the beach you love
Over the gravel road that pocks the paint.
Are you happy now? Was it worth it
To feel sand in your shoes,
Smell fish, squint as the sun glares
And the ocean turns away and snores?
Already you're growing tired of it,
Eager for other adventures, wider experience.
We could have driven so many places
Sniffing the clean and homey smell of saddle soap,
Chrome polish, rug brightener,
Smells that betoken care
and honest effort, and tenderness,
As once my words were tender
though you wouldn't hear.

CARL DENNIS

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the countdown the camera had shown all the people along the beach packing up their sandwich baskets and their towels and their folding furniture and going back to the parking lot, and she remembered that this had moved her more deeply than the thought of a man walking around on the moon. Almost everybody else on the beach had gone home early, and it seemed to her that they had gone because they had received some urgent message to leave and that the beach was their home and that on leaving the beach they would be like the evacuees of war or much more recently like those people who lived near toxic dumps and who have to travel for years, perhaps for a lifetime, seeking a new home.

Out of such lonely fantasies—yellow lights blinking, black and white figures straggling along vast highways—Cheever has created for us a shared vision of nomadism.

ANN HULBERT

IDYLL OF LOYALTY

Malgudi Days
by R. K. Narayan

(Viking, 246 pp., $14.95)

Malgudi days; not nights. There are dark moments in these thirty-two short stories, but the tragic logic is usually broken by a spot of joy in the middle or a bit of puckishness at the end. Ambiguity? The term implies a muscularity of will foreign to Narayan. He does not strive for ambiguity, nor force the action in a tragic direction, nor in a sentimental direction. The salient virtue of his art in these miniature displays is his entire ease before the double faces of existence: the tragic/joyful, funny/sad, good/evil weave of things. If nature could write, someone has said, it would be Tolstoy. But in its calms it might also be Narayan. The sun in these Malgudi days beams from beneath his brow, and its light is generous and steady and benign.

I am a stranger to Malgudi; this book is my first acquaintance with the mythical South Indian city which has been the setting for the 76-year-old Narayan's eleven novels and many stories. I have two impressions of the place. First, Malgudi is mythical not only in the sense that it is made up but also in the sense that it is a projection of desire. It is in fact an Indian pastoral. Second, I demur from Narayan's judgment in his introduction that the characteristics of Malgudi are "universal." Certainly people from all over can see themselves in these characters. But the first-time visitor is more apt to be struck by the Indianness of Malgudi. The events and the characters' reactions to them: these could take place anywhere. The difference, the Indianness, lies in the structure of feeling and implication the stories exploit.

The moral ethos makes the main difference. It is a deeper and more pervasive order than any available to a modern Western writer, and its hierarchy of virtues is very different from our ideal morality. Its first principle is loyalty, which holds sway over both the human and natural worlds. The "Blind Dog" offers a good example of this theme. A pathetic dog with "spotty eyes and undistinguished carriage and needless pugnacity" befriends a blind beggar, and becomes his guide and sole means of life after the old woman who has looked after the beggar dies. The beggar is cruel; he treats the dog so viciously that sympathetic townspeople set him loose. Yet the dog returns, to what is surely his doom. "He simply had to stay forever at the end of that string." Loyalty is the law of his life.

The answering story, "Naga," is about a boy's loyalty to a snake. The boy's father has trained the snake, and a monkey also, to do tricks. In this way he and his son eke out a living. One day the boy wakes to find his father gone. He has taken the agile monkey with him, leaving the feeble cobra. Abandoned himself, the boy tries to abandon the snake, but when he sees its vulnerability, he has a change of heart. The story ends with the boy resolved to keep the snake even though it can

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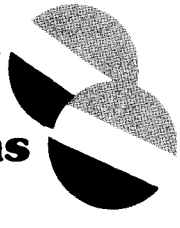

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barely rise from its basket and needs costly food. By not visiting his own fate on the snake, the boy transcends it and rights the moral balance upset by his father's dereliction.

Several other stories deal with the theme of loyalty in class terms. "A Willing Slave" is the most moving of these. An old woman who has served as the loving nanny for the six children of a wealthy family is faced with a conflict of loyalties. She must choose between her last charge, a four-year-old girl whose every waking hour she fills with practiced attention, and her wizened husband, who has returned from a years-long absence and, sick, demands her care. Caught between obligations, she chooses the one she assumed with her marriage vows. "Leela's Friend" is also about a servant's loyalty. Accused of stealing little Leela's missing gold chain, a servant remains silent rather than shift the blame to the careless girl, who has dropped the chain in the tamarind pot. His devotion costs him his job, as well as a jail sentence.

Such irrational constancy provides the moral gravity of story after story. It is all very strange, un-Western, and moving. Loyalty in Malgudi has nothing to do with the particular qualities of persons; it is not inspired or elicited. It is simply the central pulse of this fictional world.

What can be the source of this vision? My guess is that Malgudi's moral order is an ideal projection of the Indian caste system. Caste is odious to us, a sort of totalitarianism of the spirit. Narayan's depictions, however, make the Western reader slightly uncomfortable in his condemnation. They remind us that our individualistic ethos does not encompass all values. It leaves some out. Loyalty, for example. It can hardly be held in high esteem by a culture that sets so much store by self-realization and in an economic order where the bottom line rules. Malgudi renders this awareness in human terms. This Indian idyll makes a gentle criticism of our life.

A word about Narayan's art. He writes a lovely prose; however, it works only in context and can't be quoted to impressive effect. Perhaps the uninflected prose is the reason these stories do not take the reader over. Instead, the reader must supply the emotion intimated but not expressed by the style. The stories are perhaps better read aloud.

A final interesting aspect of *Malgudi Days* is the unfailing dignity and moral richness with which Narayan portrays the poor. Our first thought about India is The Poor, The Wretched. Narayan writes as if this stock idea of his country were unknown to him. True, a character in one story does quote V. S. Naipaul's typically desperate diagnosis that India is a "wounded civilization." And true, Malgudi is not intended as a representative Indian setting. Even so, we must be impressed with the way the circumambient Hinduism of India adds weight and shade and even wit to the lives of Narayan's characters. But of course it is Narayan who discovers these qualities. No living American author can compare with him in social imagination. There is no one who writes with his tact of feeling, his lack of condescension, his freedom from the falsifying pity about the people in our society comparable to his gatekeeper and servants and cobblers. An American author has an abstract category, The Poor, the newspapers, and nothing else to go on. It is not the mead of great imaginings.

Surely this situation is paradoxical. We boast that our society is open and democratic. No caste walls separate the poor from the middle class. But how can this be true when the members of the middle class charged with the responsibility of monitoring the social estate, our writers, are incapable of representing the poor in anything like their moral actuality? The poor occupy the margin of our imaginative no less than our urban life. How different the case is with Narayan! Situated in a society that makes no pretense of being open and democratic, but where the poor are everywhere, he depicts them as interesting individuals, not as abstract objects of guilt or righteousness. He claims that his art is universal, and in its truth and beauty that is so. But the reach and intimacy of his social knowledge and the authenticity of his identification with the poor tell a different story. They mark him as a writer from a society unlike ours, where the division of labor and the apartheid of living arrangements do not separate the men of imagination from the common life of their country.

JACK BEATTY

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BRIEF REVIEW

The Trouble with France by Alain Peyrefitte

(Knopf, 352 pp., $17.95)

Either the French are neurotic, or they are complacent. At all events, they never seem to stop writing and talking about themselves, usually critically, both about the past and then about an imagined future. On the one hand, the French are proud and self-confident in the conviction of their importance and intelligence. On the other hand, things have always gone wrong, France has lived dangerously, France has been less fortunate than her neighbors. Alain Peyrefitte fits neatly into this tradition. Like many of his predecessors who have sought to analyze "what's wrong with France," he is both an intellectual, educated in the Ecole Normale Supérieure, and a practical man, with wide ministerial experience. His intellectual interests are wide, and his political acumen is considerable. He also possesses a great deal of political resilience. As Minister for Education in 1968 he did not foresee the explosion of student revolt, and after the crisis De Gaulle dispensed with his services. But he re-

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turned to office as Minister for Justice.

If Peyrefitte wrote *Le Mal Français* in 1978 as a cool analysis, his preoccupation was nonetheless political. In the late 1970s a left-wing victory seemed imminent to many. Peyrefitte's book was intended to be the intellectual counterblast to the Socialist-Marxist view of French development the times called for. Well publicized, it was an exercise in political propaganda, a warning against both socialism and conservatism, as well as an investigation. It is particularly apt to read today now that the Socialists are in power in France and we have all forgotten how Giscardism was once presented as a movement for reform and progress.

Alain Peyrefitte emphasizes not backwardness, but frustration: France could be doing so much better. Since he turns to history—distant, not recent—in order to explain France's shortcomings, Peyrefitte tends to discount the great modernization of France. The enemies are familiar. There is centralization and there is cast of mind. In a country dominated by Catholicism, Marxism, and officialdom, it is not possible for a society to think in terms of expansion, profits, dynamism. The sense of hierarchy creates complexes, inhibitions, taboos, and sterility. Monsieur Peyrefitte rejects Marxist interpretations of history and prefers to think in terms of mental attitudes. France's failure to develop, according to Peyrefitte, is due to the nation's lack both of a desire for independence and of a readiness to respond to challenge, competition, economic necessities and opportunities.

It is possible still to recognize some of the symptoms he described in his book. The Socialists believe in, and are embarked upon, nationalizing the banks. But they are motivated less by economic considerations than by their Catholic approach to banking: they view a bank as a public service, open to everyone. And as they proceed on a remarkable program of decentralization, they nevertheless continue to regard the state as the natural promoter of economic growth, the provider of employment, the center of good and ill. And this, of course, is what Peyrefitte was complaining about: everywhere in France there is the dead weight of French history.

DOUGLAS JOHNSON

Douglas Johnson is professor of French history at the University of London.

TRB, *from page 6*

they are gaffes or the real thing. On March 10 the *Washington Post* said flatly that the President had approved a program of covert action to "destabilize" the Nicaraguan economy. The story appeared to be a leak, and as emotions rise, leaks become more frequent, perhaps from disgruntled officials. It is a strange era. Should America use covert operations; should reporters expose them? I really don't know. Strange things transpire. The government produces nineteen-year-old guerrilla Tardencillas to nail down proof that Nicaragua and Cuba and Moscow are conspiring to overthrow El Salvador. In a scene too improbable to be put on the stage, Tardencillas double-crosses the State Department and rejects the whole tale as fabrication. Is it funny or tragic? A couple of bridges are blown up on the Nicaraguan border, and of course people say it is the CIA. Maybe it is.

In the midst of this, Soviet leader Brezhnev drops word that he won't deploy any more medium-range nuclear missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union, and will remove some additional missiles now in place. But he warns that if the U.S. carries through its program of deploying 572 new warheads in NATO countries, starting next year, it will mean an all-out arms race. Reagan reacts predictably. He denounces the Russian ploy, and demands that his own previously proposed "zero option" be substituted: that the Soviets remove, not "freeze," all medium-range missiles from Europe.

Senator Edward Kennedy has the right answer: he rejects the Soviet proposal for a solely European freeze, and thanks God for the possibility of reopening the whole awful subject. Will the Reagan-Haig mind-set permit an opening from Russia? Or will the aging Brezhnev? But this, Gentle Reader, you and I do know. The bomb that fell on Hiroshima at 8:16 a.m. on August 6, 1945, killed 130,000 people, and was only a baby. Its explosive force was a mere 12.5 kilotons of TNT (12,500 tons). They make them now with the explosive force of a million tons of TNT—megatons, not kilotons. There are now 20,000 megatons of nuclear explosives in existence, and 50,000 warheads, and more are added every day. They can destroy you and me, and civilization, and perhaps life itself. We had better negotiate.

CORRESPONDENCE, *from page 5*

South Africa) and punishing our enemies (third world revolutionaries). It is just this sort of policy that the USSR thrives on. By supporting third world revolutions, the Russians have obtained military facilities which they are using as stepping-stones to cut off the U.S. from Western Europe and both from Japan.

If Mr. Lerner wants to "sharpen the contradictions" in the Russian empire and develop a strategy to thwart Soviet militarism, he might consider undermining Soviet support in the third world. As our Vietnam experience shows us, success will not come from backing oppressive regimes. That approach simply drives the revolutionaries into the Soviet camp.

Our approach should cultivate the friendship of third world countries by aiding their economic development. This is an area where we are unquestionably more qualified than the Soviets. Zimbabwe is an excellent model for developing positive relations with revolutionary third world countries. Even leftist intellectuals can find no counterpart in Soviet aid to the Zimbabwe experiment.

Liberals recognizing the threat of Soviet imperialism have to fight on two fronts. They need to persuade their old friends that, a real threat exists, and they must fight the temptation to tie their anti-Sovietism to a right-wing alternative.

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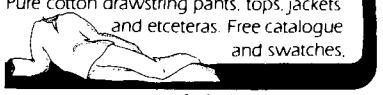
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WASHINGTON DIARIST

Let Them Eat Brioche

I HAD come to Princeton to give a talk, and was immediately given a lecture myself. Readers may remember last week's cover with Nancy Reagan as Marie Antoinette and the classic callous utterance, "Let them eat cake." The statement, I was told, was a genre attribution, credited to any number of stonehearted French aristocrats in the eighteenth century, but, as it happens, primarily to females of the First Estate. Had the queen herself, then, actually said it? Well, poor women did march on Versailles in 1789, and, if those words ever really crossed her lips, they can be assumed to have done so on that occasion. Certainly we know that the queen did not distribute bread. What is in dispute, though, is whether she would have recommended cake. A second scholar had strong views on this point, based both on a knowledge of culinary customs among the spoiled of the *ancien régime* and on an understanding of Marie Antoinette's character: "It would have been at once more haughty and more naive for the queen, hearing the demand for bread, to urge upon the mob the eating of brioche." So it is not *gâteau* that was to sate the hungry: *"Qu'ils mangent des brioches."*

MANY PERIODICALS carry something like our recently instituted feature, "Fifty Years Ago In THE NEW REPUBLIC," a steady reminder of *plus ça change*. . . . For some publications, such a feature would be redundant. Among these is the *Nation*, whose every issue reads as if it were written fifty years ago. Like TNR in those days, the *Nation* was one of the vanguard publications which couldn't bear the thought that the Stalin regime murdered millions. So its editors routinely denied the truth. The *Nation* and its readers still have trouble recognizing the realities of Communist rule. The *Nation* has been running an ad these last weeks for its very own fifteen-day "cruise up the Volga. . . . Find out for yourself what's going on in the Soviet Union capital and heartland . . . nightly dialogue with leading Soviet and American experts . . . relax in comfort and fellowship . . . folk dancing . . . cultural films, recreational games . . . visit Lenin's birthplace at Ulyanovsk. . . ." That is the kind of pilgrimage the faithful used to make in the 1930s. It is cosponsored with the *Nation*, now, as probably also then, by a goofy mix of pacifists and never-say-die fellow travelers. There are no dissidents or *refusniks* on the itinerary.

WE AXIOMATICALLY print letters from organizations and individuals criticized in our pages. But we have received one such communication we will not publish. It is from Roone Arledge, president of ABC News, written in response to two articles we recently ran on the "20/20" special on the West Bank ("A Journalistic Cover-Up," TNR, March 10, and "Still Stonewalling," TNR, March 17). Arledge objects to our suggestion that his network, among others in the opinion industries, has been intimidated by threats from the PLO into tendentiously sympathetic presentations of the Palestinian case. Arledge's letter charges, but does not substantiate, that our article was "replete with errors." I called him to ask why he thought we should publish his letter. He said that we had not told the truth about his company and that we owed ABC an opportunity to "refute" our statements. I said that many people thought that much that was aired on ABC News was not the truth, and that many people knowledgeable about the West Bank thought the recent "20/20" program egregiously untruthful and requiring refutations—the Israelis, for example. I, too. And my colleagues at Harvard's Center for Population Studies, who believe that the charge made on "20/20" that infant mortality had risen on the West Bank since 1967 is "utter nonsense," which is what Arledge said about charges against his program. Would he give the Israelis a chance to refute? No. How about me? Or my demographer friends? Or my aunt? You get the drift of the conversation. Are the responsibilities of the big media less than those of the small? Arledge did concede that ABC's Beirut correspondent, Jerry King, had been evacuated from the war zone after threats on his life—a fact which the network had never revealed to its viewers, and which confirms the point of our first article: that Western journalists survive in Lebanon only at the sufferance of Palestinian gunmen. Arledge and I also got into a colloquy about why no Israeli had appeared on "20/20." The transcript claims that the "Israeli government refused to provide an official to appear on camera. . . ." His letter is quite different. Aside from General Sharon, who'd refused to appear, "several other Israeli officials invited themselves to be interviewed. But none of them had any direct responsibility for administration of the West Bank." I told him that among those who'd been offered or who offered themselves were the two top officials of the foreign office, one former legal adviser to the military government, and the former civilian adviser to the administration in the territories. Arledge didn't seem to know this. I suspect that Arledge did not write his own letter. I suspect that he knows little about the Middle East. This cannot be said, however, about his reporters there, who understand that a wrong move may mean a bullet in the head, which is precisely what it has already meant to several of their colleagues now with the Lord.

LIBERALS HAVE IDEAS about reducing the numbers of the unemployed. But liberals do not have ideas about how to deal with a seemingly related, but different and relatively new, problem: that of the unemployable. It is not, I fear, a matter of job training. You can see it impressionistically as you drive (you do not walk) around the big cities. Any social worker can tell you horrific stories about human waste, the flotsam of a society, increasingly anomic and with disintegrating bonds of belief and of family, in which babies are born into hopelessness as once they were born into slavery—perhaps even into the same families. Increasing numbers of young mothers, unmarried or deserted, psychologically barely out of babyhood themselves, are raising—or, perhaps more to the point, not raising—an ever greater number of our children. These young are born disproportionately to the poor and even more disproportionately to blacks, though the increase in families without fathers cuts across race and class. The disadvantages are cumulative. These young people are immune to education and to productive enticements. We've heard a lot of blather these last years from feminist ideologists, and black ones, too, about the resilience of these families. It won't wash; and it's cruel besides. Here's an issue for a party platform to address. But we are all afraid to try.

M.P.

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